

MARY STUART,
K QUEEN of Scots :
BEING THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF HER
L I F E,
AND THE
Real CAUSES of all Her
Misfortunes.

CONTAINING
A RELATION of many particular Trans-
actions in her REIGN; never yet Pub-
lished in any COLLECTION.

Translated from the FRENCH,
By Mrs. ELIZA HATWOOD.

L O N D O N,
Printed for D. BROWNE Junior, at the Black-
Swan without Temple-Bar; S. CHAPMAN, at
the Angel in Pall-Mall; and J. WOODMAN
and D. LYON, in Russel-street, Covent-Garden.

M.DCC.XXV.

MARK STUART

QUEEN OF SCOTS

BEING THE

SECRET HISTORY

OF HER

LIFE



Real Causes of all Her

Misfortunes.

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A Relation of many particular Transactions in her Reign; together with
Her many Collections.

Translated from the French

By Mrs. ELINA HAYWOOD.

LONDON

Printed for D. Browne, at the Black
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INTRODUCTION.



O great a number of Books being daily published, more for Delight than Instruction or Improvement; we think it proper to acquaint the Reader, that this which now offers itself to his Perusal; is not a *Romance*, but a *True History*; not only in the general, but in all its Circumstances also; some of which have been but in the compass of a few People to bring to light, and will prove, that to speak the Truth of this unhappy Princess, one must steer between the two Extremes of Father CAUSSIN's bigotted Zeal, and the malicious Detraction of BUCHANAN; both which Writers have equally err'd in the Ideas they have spread abroad of her:

tho' it must be confess'd, there is a very great probability (contrary as their Assertions are) of what each of them have alledg'd; considering, that on one side her Subjects, to cloke their Rebellion, pretended to take up arms in defence of the Protestant Religion; and on the other, she cou'd only preserve her Virtue amidst those Snares her Enemies laid for her, not defend her *Flame* from the *Appearances* of Ill.—Both these things are plainly demonstrated in this little History; which, beside some private Hands, I have collected from fifteen or sixteen known Authors. If I have quoted CAMDEN more frequently than the rest, it is because, being a Subject to Queen ELIZABETH, what he says in favour of the other, may very well pass for an undoubted Truth.



of JAMES the Fifth of that Name, King
of Scotland, and of MARY of the House
of Guise, Dowager of Lewis Duke of



with so violent a Concourse, that in a few
Weeks it deprived him of Life. It

was in a very unfortunate Instance that

MARY STUART,

lasted several Years, there happened se-

veral different Accidents, but the Dis-

ease about Religion, at last it was

the Practice to cover Views of perhaps

a quite different nature: but to such a

HE Life of this celebrated

Princess has something so

extraordinary in the whole

Course of it, and so very

imbarbful in the Catastro-

phie, that, without adding

any thing to the Truth, it will appear in

the recital as surprizing as any Romance

whatsoever. who the second, who the first

and by whom she had been greatly fa-

SHE was born in *Edinburgh*, the chief

City of *Scotland*; on the 8th of *Decem-*

ber in the Year 1542, the only Daughter

of

of JAMES the Fifth of that Name, King of *Scotland*, and of MARY of the House of *Guise*, Dowager of LEWIS Duke of *Longueville*. Within six days after her Birth, the King her Father died, who having lately lost a Battel against the *English*, where he beheld the Chief of his Nobility slain on the spot, was seiz'd with so violent a Concern, that in a few Weeks it deprived him of Life. It was in a very unfortunate Juncture that this Princess was left a *Minor*; for beside the foreign Wars with the *English*, which lasted several Years, there happened several intestine Broils, occasioned by Disputes about Religion, at least that was the Pretence to cover Views of, perhaps, a quite different nature: but to such a height were the Animosities carried on between the opposite Factions, that undoubtedly the Queen Dowager must have been obliged to have given her Daughter to HENRY the Eighth of *England*, who at that time press'd vehemently to obtain her for his Son *Edward*, had she not, to avoid it, sent her into *France*, to Henry the Second, who then reign'd, and by whom she had been greatly favour'd with Supplies of both Men and Money, since the Death of the King her Husband. The young Princess was scarce
six

six Years old when she arrived in that Kingdom; but it was easy to discover in this *Dawn* of Life, what her *Meridian* would be——What might not be expected from a *Maturity* whose budding *Infancy* astonish'd the whole World!——Her Royal Guardian took all imaginable care to give her an Education suitable to her high Birth, and more elevated Genius——She was not more than twelve Years of age, when she understood so well the Grounds of the *Latin*, *Italian*, *French*, and *Scotch* Tongues, that she made Verses in all those Languages. There are at this day to be seen, among other curious Manuscripts, some Odes in *French* of her composing; which, allowing for the Alteration which Time makes in all the Living Languages, discover a certain Sublimity of Sentiment, a Vivacity of Wit, and Strength of Judgment, which few of our Male Poets since can equal. And if the best Picture we can have of the Soul of any Person, is in their Works, as sure it is, we may judge by those elegant Pieces she has left behind her, that she had all the different Excellencies of those Nations whose Languages she was Mistress of——the Gaiety and Politeness of the *French*!——the

Latian Solidity and Depth of Thought !
 —the *Italian* Majesty and Softness
 mix'd !——and the natural Wisdom of
 her native Country !——As to the
 Beauty of her Person, all who have been
 Eye-Witnesses of it, agree, that it is
 impossible for Imagination to form an
 Idea by the thousandth part so lovely, so
 enchanting !——the first Sight of her
 in a moment found the way from the
 Eye to the Heart !——A certain Au-
 thor of Quality affirms, that no Man
 could look on her without Desire——
 CHARLES the Ninth, according to Mon-
 sieur BRANTOSME, never pass'd by her
 Picture, as it hung in a Gallery in the
 Palace, but he stopp'd short, and how-
 ever accompany'd and busied, burst out
 into the most passionate Expressions——
 among others, he has been heard to say,
 ——*Happy ! happy Brother ! thou hadst
 enough of Life and Empire, short as
 was thy Reign, in the possession of so
 exquisite a Charmer.*

BUT to return : This admirable Prin-
 cess was no sooner arrived at the age of
 fifteen, than HENRY the Second mar-
 ried her to his Son FRANCIS the *Dau-
 phin* ; the Alliance which had always
 been between *Scotland* and *France*,
 ren-

rendering the thing easy to be accomplish'd: Tho' I think there could not be a greater Proof given of her Power of charming, than that Ambassadors being sent by the *Scots* to treat about this Affair, the Council of *France* required the Crown of *Scotland*, with the other Regal Ornaments, should be sent to the *Dauphin*; it was refus'd, intimating, that tho' they got a *Husband* for their *Queen*, they wanted not a *King* for their *Kingdom*: yet this broke not off the Match—the Father, as well as enamour'd Prince, thinking her Person and Accomplishments a sufficient Dowry.

SOON after the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots*, died MARY Queen of *England*, and Wife of PHILIP the Second of *Spain*: on which, tho' ELIZABETH, Sister to the Deceased, by the assistance of the *Protestants*, was crown'd; yet nevertheless pretending to be the immediate Heir, she assum'd both the Name and Arms of Queen of *England*, as being Grandaughter to MARGARET the Sister of HENRY the Eighth. This was indeed the first and principal Motive of that mortal Hatred which ELIZABETH ever after bore her, and which at last was the Cause of her Fall,

BUT the Disappointment she receiv'd in her Hope of the Crown of *England*, was soon after recompenced by that of *France*: HENRY the second dying, FRANCIS her Husband succeeded him in the Kingdom; tho' it may be said indeed, he enjoy'd the *Title* without the *Power*, the GUISES his Uncles, with KATHERINE DE MEDICIS, governing all. The young King seem'd easy they should do so; and wholly taken up with the Charms of his fair Queen, grudg'd every Hour of Business, and, to indulge his *Passion*, grew regardless of his *Power*. This was little pleasing to a Lady of her Spirit, who, tho' a Wife, was yet insensible of the Ardors and Impatiencies of a violent Affection; she would willingly have dispens'd with the Proofs he daily gave her of his *Tenderness*, if he had more studied the gratifying her *Ambition*, that was at present the darling Passion of her Soul: She burn'd with a Desire of Rule! Pride and Grandeur were her only Wish! — She knew no Joy like commanding, nor a Pain equal to that of being obliged to submit to the Decrees of others — The haughty Behaviour of KATHERINE DE MEDICIS was insupportable; and she

she could not forbear complaining of it in Terms which made her be look'd on as her Enemy. To add to this Animosity between them, the Mother Queen beheld by degrees her Court to lessen, and that the Heads of both Factions, the King of *Navarre*, and the eldest of the MONTMORENCYS, were entirely devoted to the Charms of her beautiful Daughter-in-law : This was what her jealous Temper could not brook ; and she took all Advantages of her Son's Indolence to appear more publickly in the Administration of Affairs, than otherwise, 'tis probable, she would have done, merely to mortify, and give an umbrage to his Wife.

BUT, in a little time, the Death of FRANCIS put an end to this Contest, which happened about eighteen Months after his Marriage. Every thing was now wholly in the power of KATHERINE DE MEDICIS, and she resolved to make use of it so far, as to rid herself of the Presence of a Person who she could no longer regard, but with the Eyes of Envy and Detestation. She told the GUISES her Uncles, that she must prepare to return to *Scotland*, and notwithstanding every thing was in confusion in that

Kingdom by the Death of the Queen Regent her Mother, which happen'd about six Months before the Death of FRANCIS; yet so great was the Impatience of KATHERINE DE MEDICIS for her Departure, that the GUISES were obliged to send her to *Lorrain*, till such time as she could get ready her necessary Preparations for setting out for *Scotland*.

BUT if the Jealousy of Power made KATHERINE DE MEDICIS so earnest for her Departure, there wanted not those who were equally solicitous for her continuing among them. The King of *Navarre*, and the Marschal D'ANVILLE, had felt too much the Power of her restless Charms, to endure the thoughts of seeing her no more. Both these indeed were married Men; but Love confines not its Influences to Circumstances; that Ceremony which joins the unloving Pair, has in it no Spell to keep their Hearts from ranging, or secure, or alter Inclination. *Navarre*, transported by his violent Passion, propos'd to the Cardinal LORRAIN being divorced from his Wife JOAN d'ALBERT, under pretence of Heresy, and then to marry the Queen. But it was with the utmost detestation she heard such an Intention related.

lated by her Uncle, not only because she was as yet averse to any second Marriage, but also that she look'd on repudiating any Woman in that manner as both unjust and cruel; and this which she attended her

AS for the Mareschal D'ANVILLE, his presuming Nature, flatter'd by that Affability with which the Queen treated every body about her, made him look on himself as a Person extremely favour'd by her; and his Wife labouring at that time under a very violent Indisposition, he was not without hope that he should soon get rid of the one, and render himself acceptable to the other—

it was this which engaged him to accompany her into *Scotland*, and hold a Correspondence with her for a long time after; of which we shall say more in the Sequel of this History.

AS soon as things were ready for her Reception in *Scotland*, she came to the Court of *France*, (which was then at *St. Germain's*) to take leave of CHARLES the Ninth, and, in spite of their Enmity, of KATHERINE DE MEDICIS; after which, she began her Journey to *Calais*, in company with the Marquis (D'ELBEUF, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke

Duke of GUISE, the Mareſchal D'ANVILLE, and a great number of others of the Nobility, who all left her when ſhe embarked, except the Grand Prior, the Marquis D'ELBEUF, and the Mareſchal D'ANVILLE, which three attended her to *Edinburgh*.

SHE expreſſed the greateſt Concern imaginable for leaving *France*; not only the time of her taking leave of thoſe who had accompany'd her to the Borders, but her whole Voyage, was paſſ'd in Tears and Lamentations; inſomuch as one would have thought ſhe had been poſſeſſ'd of the Spirit of Prophecy, and trembled at the Miſfortunes ſhe was now entering into. In her Paſſage over, ſhe had two very remarkable Inſtances of good and bad Fortune; a ſudden, but moſt violent Tempeſt ariſing, ſhe had the Grief to ſee a Ship, wherein was ſtow'd the richeſt of her Baggage, and a great number of her Servants and Horſes, ſwallow'd up before her eyes by the devouring Waves: the other was, that Queen ELIZABETH, having invited her to paſs thro' *England*, (with a deſign, as 'tis thought, of getting her into her power) and hearing ſhe ſteer'd another Courſe, had fitted out a Fleet to intercept

cept her; but tho' it was Summer-time, there fell so great a Mist while she cross'd the Channel, that they could scarce distinguish each other on Deck, by which means she pass'd the *English* Fleet unseen. She came to *Scotland* in the Month of *September*, in the Year 1561, and was received with all the Joy that could be expected from a People so rude and unpolite as the *Scots* then were.

BUT as they were obliged to make the first Shore, by reason of the Queen's Indisposition, who, between her Grief and the Fatigue of her Voyage, was extremely out of order; she was much worse accommodated at her landing, than she would have been at any of those Harbours where it was expected she would cast anchor——They could get none but poor Horses of that Country without Saddles, to convey her and her Company to a neighbouring Village, and were all Night hinder'd from sleep, by the Noise of four or five hundred Fifes and *Biscayan* Drums, and other Instruments of that kind. The next morning, having order'd one of her *Chaplains* to say *Mass*, according to her usual Custom, an Altar being rais'd, and he dress'd in the Ornaments of his Function, the common
People

People fell upon him, threw down and broke the Altar in pieces, and had certainly kill'd the *Priest*, had he not flown for shelter to the Queen. The Riot had grown much higher than it was, had it not been appeased by the coming of JAMES STUART, natural Brother to the Queen, who being told of her Arrival, hastened to pay his Devoirs at the Place where she was. He was the Head of the *Protestants*, as the Earl of HAMILTON was of the *Papists*; and his appearing, and the Reasons he gave them for not attempting to oppose in the exercise of her Religion, a Queen who, he hoped, would give them the liberty of theirs, made them lay down their Arms, and retire to their several Habitations. This Beginning however was enough to shock a Disposition so delicate as was her's, and gave her to understand what she had to expect from a People so little accusom'd to Respect, and such profess'd Enemies of that Faith to which she was a Bigot.

SHE found her Kingdom divided in two Factions, one headed by JAMES Earl of HAMILTON, who was presumptive Heir to the Crown, and the other by JAMES STUART, or rather Queen ELIZABETH, to whom he was
 en-

entirely devoted. On her first appearing in *Scotland*, these two Noblemen had Views as vastly different as their Principles: JAMES STUART thought, that if the Queen did not marry, there was a possibility for him, or his, to mount the Throne at her Decease, the Birth of the HAMILTONS being in dispute: On the other hand, the Earl had hope of obtaining her for his Son, who, for this reason, had taken part with the Protestants, flattering himself, that the Queen would be brought to consent to it, by the Promise Queen ELIZABETH had made him of obliging her to it, if he changed his Religion.

BUT tho' the Designs of the *Father* were wholly guided by Ambition, *Love* had the most powerful share in exciting the Affiduities of the *Son*: he was in reality passionately enamour'd of the beautiful Queen, and look'd on the possession of her Crown as a trivial Blessing, in competition with that of her Person—All his Words, as much as the distance between them would permit, all his Looks and Gestures, whenever he approach'd her, gave such demonstrable Testimonies of a Passion, that tho' she had much rather it had been otherwise, she could not but perceive.

HOW

HOW inseparable are Love and Jealousy! How next to an impossibility is it to be possess'd of the one, without some little tincture of the other also, especially if there be the least shadow for Suspicion!

—The Favours she heap'd on the Marechal D'ANVILLE, while he was at her Court, made this young Lover extremely discontented—He thought her too condescending in her Behaviour towards him—and that Complaisance which she thought owing to his good Qualities, and to the Respect he paid her, was construed by this self-tormented Lover, as the Effects of Tenderneſs; and growing more and more disquieted, he communicated his Sentiments to his Father, whose Policy found the means immediately to ease him of those Fears. It was in this manner he compassed his Intent: He told the Queen, that one of the principal Articles of the last Peace between her Mother and the *Scots*, when they took up arms against her, was, that all the *French* should be sent out of the Nation. This being really fact, tho' urg'd at that time only on the account of the Marechal, the Queen found herself obliged to comply with, and dismiss all those Lords that came with her out of *France*.

France. This Separation was a sensible Grief to the Marechal; but he contriv'd a way to inform himself from time to time of the Queen's Sentiments, and to continue a Correspondence with her, by the means of a Gentleman he had, whose Name was CHATERAR, and tho' of *French* Extraction, was born in *Scotland*, and therefore not under the Penalty of Banishment. This Man, by the Queen's own Permission, he left at Court, it being certain, that tho' she countenanced not his Pretensions, both on the account of his Wife being yet living, and that she thought him not of a Birth sufficient to entitle him to the Quality of her Lover; yet she was not displeased to know herself ador'd to that prodigious degree, by a Person of his allowed fine Sense, and distinguishing Capacity.

THE Son of the Earl of HAMILTON, who must hereafter be known by the Name of Earl of ARRAN, seeing himself thus rid of the Man, whose good Qualities, he imagin'd, obscur'd those of all others in the Queen's eyes, began now to entertain the most presuming Hopes; but on declaring his Pretensions, found, to his unspeakable affliction, that it was not the too great Merits of another, but the

the wants of them in himself, which de-
 prived him of the Affection he endea-
 vour'd to inspire. and in order to inform him of the Queen's sentiments and to inform him of the Queen's sentiments
 yd **ABOU** To this time, **JOHN GORDON**,
 one of the most lovely and accomplish'd
 Youths that ever *Scotland* bred, and Son
 and Heir of the Earl of **HUNTLEY**, ac-
 counted the richest Peer of that King-
 dom, having long been secretly in love
 with the Queen, thought it as well be-
 came him to make known his Preten-
 sions, as it did the Earl of **ARRAN**. Nor
 did he flatter himself with a vain Hope,
 that distinguishing Princess could not help
 paying that deference to his Perfections,
 which she must have dissembled to have
 shew'd to his Rival; — not that she had
 the least design of marrying him; but as
 mong a multitude of Pretenders of equal
 merit, 'tis almost impossible even for the
 most indifferent to avoid feeling some de-
 gree of inclination for one more than the
 others. — Well then might this fair
 Queen be excused for doing so to a Per-
 son, who had not only an infinitely great-
 er share of Perfections than any of those
 who declared themselves her Lovers, but
 also than the generality of Mankind. but he saw that it was his unpeppable affliction that it was not too great a merit of another but
 NOW

NOW did Jealousy sow the Seeds of Discord between these two Rivals—— they became open and profess'd Enemies, and she was frequently obliged to join the Authority which *Love* gave her over them, to that of *Queen*, to prevent their quarrelling even in her presence. This made her for the future more wary in her Behaviour to GORDON than she had been accusom'd, or than indeed was consistent with her Humour: But the Necessity of her Affairs compelling her to keep fair with the Family of the HAMILTONS, she disguis'd her Inclination for the Heir of HUNTLEY, and dissembled a much greater than she had for the Son of HAMILTON; yet keeping so exact a Reserve and Circumspection, that neither of them had any reason to dread his Rival's Power, or grow too presuming on his own.

THIS Conduct answer'd her Expectations; for by thus dividing herself, as it were, between two Persons, neither of which she design'd ever to raise to any higher Happiness than he at present possess'd, she turn'd their Contention a quite different way; and being both commanded and intreated to live in amity, each now strove which shou'd outvie the other

in obliging her, each living in hopes he should see his Rival fail in that Point, and by that means lose the Queen's Favour.—She now began to flatter herself with the Belief, that their Love would now seek no other than submissive Ways, and that she should be able to hold both at this distance for a long space of time: and so, in all probability she might, had not an Accident intervened, which lost her great part of the Respect they, before that happened, thought her Due, and has since given her Enemies a handle to asperse her Character.

CHATELARD, as before has been observ'd, was left in the Court of *Scotland* for no other Reason than to be near the Queen, and by that means have an opportunity of conveying to her, unsuspected by her jealous Subjects, those Letters which the Marshal D'ANVILLE sent. But if this was the Motive which induced his Master to leave him, it was not his, for staying and accepting of an Agent's Commission. Not the astonishing Disparity between them, not her prodigious Height, nor his Meanness, could hinder him from entertaining a Passion for this universal Charmer, by so much more violent and raging, as it was hopeless.

less. He had a great deal of Wit and Learning, and was an excellent Poet, by which means he came to be introduced into the Queen's Notice: She was a great Admirer of fine Verses, and on all Occasions he was never unfurnish'd with an Ode, which might give him an opportunity of feasting his Eyes with those Perfections which had been so fatal to him. When the News of her Departure was spread abroad, and that the Mareschal design'd to attend her, he got himself recommended to his Service, and thought his Passion sufficiently recompensed by being near her——After the Mareschal D'ANVILLE was gone, and he made, as it were, a kind of Confidant in their Correspondence, he receiv'd greater Marks of her Favour than before. He had every day the boundless Blessing of seeing her, of talking to her, and being honoured with her Commands. But how dangerous is it to encourage a Lover! The Queen, unknowing him to be so, by a thousand obliging Expressions, fann'd the aspiring Flame, till it at last burst out into perfect Madness. Unable to conceal the Torments of a stifled Passion, yet fearful to give it ease by Vent, even to those who seem'd most his Friends, he disburden'd some part of the o'erflowing Anguish

guish of his Soul in Odes and Sonnets, which, because he was accusom'd to write, were not much taken notice of; tho' he express'd himself in some of them with so heart-felt an Energy, and described the Perfections of the too lovely Queen in Colours so lively and natural, that it could not but have given suspicion of the Truth, had there been any proportion between him and the Person who was the Subject of them.

BUT the Queen only considering her Greatness, and not reflecting that her Eyes were capable of blinding Reason, and that the same Desires reign'd in the meanest as well as the noblest Blood, receiv'd these Addresses as Pieces of Gallantry, and the Overflowings of a sprightly and luxuriant Fancy; or, at the most, that he aim'd to say those things of her which his Master the Mareschal D'ANVILLE thought. In this manner did the wretched CHATELARD for a long time beguile Despair, and sport with his own Ruin; till at last Reason a little resuming its Empire o'er his Mind, represented how truly miserable he was: and summoning all his Resolution to his Aid, he forc'd himself to quit a Place, which, tho' it flatter'd him with some moments of imagin'd Bliss,

serv'd

serv'd only to render his Disease more incurable: Absence he thought the only means to effect it; and therefore all at once took a hasty Leave of his adorable Mistress — He went into *France*, where he join'd himself with the *Hugonots*, who there were at war with *CHARLES* the Ninth — He was at the Siege of *Orleans*, and several other dangerous Enterprizes, still flying *Love*, and courting *Death*, but to no purpose; the one he bore about him, and the other is generally most coy, when most solicited. Finding therefore no alteration in his Sentiments, and that neither Absence, Business, Danger, nor the Smart of a great number of Wounds, which he had receiv'd, could in the least abate the Violence of his extravagant Love, his ill Fate compell'd him to return once more to *Scotland*. The Queen, neither knowing, nor giving herself the trouble of examining the Reasons either of his departure, or return, receiv'd him graciously, and restor'd him to the Place he formerly held about her Person, which was that of one of the Grooms of the Chamber. But he had not been long in this Situation, before his Passion, or rather his Frenzy, prompted him to an Undertaking, which, he imagin'd, would give him

ease, either by the gratification of his Desires, or put a period to them by Death— One day, being alone in the Queen's Chamber, What hinders me, *said he to himself*, to push my fortune, and either make myself the *happiest* of Mankind? or, by obliging them to give me Death, cease from being the most *miserable*? With this determination he conceal'd himself under the Queen's Bed, where he lay till Night; but being by some Accident discovered by the Maids of Honour, he was dragg'd out, expecting, and, in his present Infatuation and Despair, desiring no other than to be sent to the Scaffold: But the Queen's Clemency was so great, that having been seen by none but those whom she thought she could oblige to Secrecy, she pardon'd him, without so much as demanding of him, what could induce him to be guilty of that Folly and Presumption; and seem'd to take so little notice of it, that she dismiss'd him not from his Attendance——which last, indeed, is very much to be wonder'd at, in a Lady of her Spirit and Prudence: ——All that can be urged in her defence, is, that being taken up with things which seem'd of greater consequence, she consider'd not in what manner so dangerous a Mercy might be construed: but the worst,

worst, methinks, that her Enemies could have suggested, had been only, that it was the Effect of a little Womanish Vanity, which delights in being lov'd, tho' by ever so unworthy a Person—— Encouraged however by a Behaviour so contrary to his Hopes, in a few days he prosecuted the same Design; but being again detected, not only by the Women about the Queen, but by several others also, who happen'd to be in the Room, she was obliged to sacrifice to her Honour, the Person who had sacrificed himself to his mad Passion, and presuming Folly—— She therefore deliver'd him into the hands of Justice, who condemn'd him to be beheaded. He mounted the Scaffold with the Resolution of a Man who wish'd for Death; and repeating some Verses out of RONSARD, on the Contempt of Life, he turn'd himself to that side of the Scaffold which faced the Queen's Lodgings, and crying out, Farewel, Oh most lovely and cruel Princess that ever was! submitted his Neck to the Ax, which sever'd it at the first Blow.

THO' the Queen was in this Affair no farther criminal than her Beauty made her, yet the Jealousy of the two Earls imagin'd her guilty—— it was known
C 4 that

that this last was not the only Fault of this kind he had committed ; and her having pardon'd so impudent a Daring, without even removing the Offender from her Presence, made not only them, but many others, conclude, that he had encouragement for what he did, and that he would have found the same Mercy as before, had his Crime been less openly detected——they scrupled not to say publicly, she was taken with a Song ; and compar'd him with OVID, and she to the Daughter of AUGUSTUS.

GREAT part of the Respect which the two Rival Earls had been accusom'd to pay her, being taken off by this Adventure, both now began to think of gaining her by other means than Affiduities. ARRAN was the first that found a Stratagem for that purpose, which, indeed was likely enough to have compass'd his Ends : He had at that time, within a day's Journey of *Edinburgh*, where the Queen then was, a Castle, situated in a marshy Ground, and equally fortify'd by *Art* and *Nature* ; moreover, all the Country round about were his Dependants or Vassals ; and relying on their Assistance, as not doubting but they wou'd readily take up Arms for him, his
Design

Design was to seize the Queen, and carry her by force to this Castle, believing she would comply with his Proposals of Marriage, when she found there were no other means to save her Honour, and perhaps her Crown; or if he fail'd, he had not the same fatal Catastrophe with CHATILLARD to fear, because of his Quality, and his Father's, and his own great Interest, both with the Lords and Commons. He got ready a great many Horses, sent private notice to his Friends to be ready at a moment's warning, and, in a word, gave all the necessary orders for surprising the Queen as she walk'd forth, as her manner usually was every Evening. But these Preparations could not be made without some noise; and JAMES STUART, who pretended a great Zeal for the Service of his Queen and Sister, having taken notice of a greater number of Horsemen than usual going backwards and forwards, suspected there was some Plot on foot: for which reason he hindered her from going out that day, and several others. The Earl of ARRAN finding himself circumvented not only at this time, but his Design render'd impracticable hereafter, by reason of the Queen's having now a Guard about her,

gave

gave over all thoughts of attempting it; and the Earl of GORDON, who had also a Project, put off his to another opportunity — The Queen, who was inform'd that some of those Men, who had infus'd Jealousy in the Mind of JAMES STUART, belong'd to the Earl of ARRAN, made no doubt but that he had some design on her; but she examin'd no further into it, lest on his being found guilty, the World would be sensible she wanted the power to punish such an Insolence in a Subject. The Author of the History of *Scotland*, who has taken upon him to censure the Actions of this Queen, says, indeed, that this was only a Farce, in order to procure Guards about the Queen; but he is no more to be rely'd on in this, than he is in the rest, since he was one of those *Scotchmen* sent into *England* the first time, to procure the Death of his Princess: more of which hereafter. I hope the Reader will pardon this Digression, since this Author being followed by a noted Writer of this Age, has spread abroad Ideas of this unfortunate Queen, quite contrary to what she merited; as I shall easily make appear in the following History. So that I have been obliged to give these Reasons, to corroborate the Truths I am about to relate.

JAMES

JAMES STUART being now regarded as a Person who had preserv'd his Sister from a Surprize which might have been fatal to her, usurped, by this Reputation, and the Assistance of that Faction, of which he was the Chief, an Authority over her little differing from that of a Tyrant——He assumed the Disposal of all Posts and Offices of Trust ; and under the pretence of serving her, left her not the power to serve herself——She cou'd, she must, in fine, do nothing now without consulting him——her Guards were Creatures of his own, whom he had placed about her, not so much for her Safety, as to be so many Spies on her Actions.

THE first Use he made of his sudden Change of Fortune, was this: The County of *Murray*, which had been in the possession of the Earl of *HUNTLEY* ever since the Death of a Prince to whom the Queen was immediate Heiress, he got into his Hands, and took upon him the Name of it ; therefore we shall henceforwards call him Earl of *MURRAY*——But the Earl of *HUNTLEY*, who had held the County, by the Queen's Courtesy, for a considerable time, could not
bear

bear the taking it away, without great
 Resentment—As he was not the
 only Person who felt the Effects of this
 new-made Earl's Covetousness and De-
 sire of Power, he had a great number of
 Confederates against him—The Earl of
 HAMILTON, who being a Prince of the
 Blood, could not chuse but think a lar-
 ger Share of the Government ought to
 have been invested in his hands, rather
 than in the other's; and for that reason,
 as well as the difference of Parties, con-
 ceiv'd a deadly Hate to him: joining
 therefore with the Earl of HUNTLEY, a
 Plot was laid between them to ruin
 MURRAY, and then seize on the Queen,
 and compel her to marry young GORDON
 or ARRAN, leaving her the choice which
 of them she would take—both these
 Earls vowing to each other, that all
 thought of Animosity or Rivalship should
 be laid by, and each should afford his ut-
 most power to the destruction of their
 common Enemy—In this Conspi-
 racy soon entred himself JAMES HEP-
 BURN, Earl of BOTHWELL, who, by
 his Extravagancies and Debaucheries, hav-
 ing spent his Estate, which had been very
 large, had no way of recruiting himself,
 but by Change of Government, and pub-
 lick Disturbances. He had once offer'd

MURRAY

MURRAY to kill the Earl of HAMILTON with his own Hand; but MURRAY, whether he mistrusted the Event, or did not believe it practicable, would not hearken to it: HUNTLEY being a Man of much more POLICY than HAMILTON, would not appear openly in the Affair; but knowing the Disposition and Principles of BOTHWELL, said to him one day, when they were alone, that if he would make the same Proposal to HAMILTON as he had done to MURRAY, he would not find him so hard to be work'd upon. BOTHWELL, who was glad of an opportunity of doing mischief any way, readily embraced the Proposal; and going immediately to HAMILTON, represented to him the Injuries he had receiv'd from MURRAY, who had aim'd at setting aside the Succession; that there was nothing that he might not in time bring about, having in his hands the greatest part of the Queen's Authority, which, with the Assistance of the Protestants, and the Favour of the *English* Queen, might enable him to subvert a Government much better settled than that of *Scotland*: He alledg'd, that the Design which MURRAY had in preventing the Queen from marrying, was, that if she died without Issue, he was confident of succeeding her.

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In a word, he told him the only Way to ward this Blow, was to kill him; and proffer'd himself to be the Executioner of what he propos'd.

THE Earl of HAMILTON gave into this immediately : He knew, that on the Ruin or Death of MURRAY, not only his Right of Succession, but his Son's Marriage with the Queen depended——He had been often heard to boast, that the Family of the STUARTS, whether legitimate or not, ought to be preferr'd to the HAMILTONS ; and this was sufficient to stir up the Revenge of a Man less ambitious than the Earl. He consulted with B O T H W E L L therefore on such Measures for his Death, as he could not possibly have escaped the Stroke, had not the Design been discover'd by the most unguess'd at means. The Plot was laid to destroy him when he went a Buck-hunting with the Queen in a Forest near *Faulkland - Castle*, in which he then resided——Nothing could be more easy than the Execution of the Project, because that Part of the Country were all entirely devoted to the Family of the HAMILTONS ; and wou'd be so far from revenging the Death of a Man so hated by them, that they would readily take up arms to oppose whatever might

might be attempted by his Friends against the Authors of it. But Providence, for the punishment of others, who, if not equally guilty, were not also without their share of Crimes, had yet work for this consummate Villain, which was as yet unfinish'd, and screen'd from the impending Blow this Minister of Vengeance.

ALTHO' the Earl of ARRAN was to reap the greatest Advantage by the Success of this Plot; yet, being addicted to the Protestant Religion, he fear'd the Death of MURRAY might be the ruin of that Party. He was therefore resolv'd to prevent it——After pondering for some time, he thought the best way was to write to him in an obscure manner, to be upon his guard; and, above all, not to go a hunting with the Queen, hinting to him, that he was the Game, which the greatest and most resolute Men in the Kingdom were in chace of. MURRAY return'd an answer by the Messenger that brought him this, thanking him for the caution he had given him, and assuring him that he would make good use of it. But the Fellow not being in the secret, and finding Lord ARRAN abroad at his return, gave the Letter to the Earl of HAMILTON; who no sooner found his
Son

Son had discover'd the Plot, and that all their Measures had been broken by the very Man for whose sake chiefly they had been concerted, than he flew into the utmost Rage, and commanded he should be clapt into Prison; whence in a little time escaping, he repair'd immediately to the Queen, informing her of the whole Affair, excepting that of his Father's being concern'd in it, laying the stress of his Accusation chiefly on BOTHWELL. Tho' his Deposition was not to be doubted, yet the Queen order'd him to Confinement as well as BOTHWELL, who stiffly denying the Accusation, the other offer'd the ancient way of Combat, to make good what he alledg'd; but this not being permitted, they were both continu'd in Custody for some time: But whether Lord ARRAN, on the account of his Father, could not well make out the matter, or whether the Queen, following the same manner as she had done in the former Conspiracy, is uncertain: but the matter was no further look'd into, and the Prisoners were set at liberty.

GEORGE GORDON, Earl of HUNTLEY, who had been the Mover of this Affair, tho' he did not appear publicly

lickly in it, having miss'd his Aim here, made an attempt on the Life of MURRAY in another manner. By some of his emissaries he rais'd a Tumult in the City, thinking, that when the Earl came out to appease them, it would be an easy matter to kill him in the hurly-burly——but this answering no better than the former Project, he attempted afterwards to have him assassinated in the Palace; but his Courage there defending him, the other was obliged to give over all Attempt of it for some time, and his Son the young Lord GORDON finding no Probability of succeeding without MURRAY, endeavour'd by all manner of ways to get him on his side.—By this means, the only Powers that were able to stop him in his Career of Greatness, now rais'd it higher by their submissions to him; and he became Master of so immense an Authority, that instead of making his Court to the Queen, she found herself obliged to apply to him for whatever she would have effected.

THE Queen, thus encompass'd with Difficulties on every side, plainly perceiving she had none but self-interested Persons to deal with, flew in this Extremity to her Uncles the GUISES for Re-

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lief;

lief; who told her, the only way to secure herself on the Throne, was to ruin the Earl of MURRAY, cost what it wou'd: and as the only way to do it was to raise some one, who might be able to make head against him, they advis'd her to make use of the Earl of HUNTLEY for that purpose, who being naturally of a most ambitious Temper, and excited by the Hope of her marrying his Son, would stick at nothing to attain that Grandeur. He was the Person fix'd on; the young Lord ARRAN being hateful to them for two Reasons, the one because he was known to be a Favourer of the Protestants, and the other, his having been concern'd in AMBOIS's Conspiracy, when he was in *France*, which was the cause he lost all the Employments he had in that Kingdom. Pursuant to this Advice, the Queen began to treat privately with the Earl of HUNTLEY, laying before him what Straits she was reduced to by the Avarice and Ambition of this cruel Brother; that he was King, and she only his Prisoner, and in short, told him there was nothing she would not grant to the Man, who would deliver her from so heavy a Yoke——This was sufficient to spur on the not yet extinguish'd Zeal of this Earl, who overjoy'd to use the Queen's

Queen's Name in a thing, which he had so often attempted in vain of himself; and was now almost assured of the obtaining the utmost of his Desires—he already thinks himself the Father of a King, and being persuaded, that the Life of MURRAY was the sole Impediment to his Hopes, resolves to break thro' it with all expedition. But knowing by Experience, that *Edinburgh* was not a fit Place for the Accomplishment of such an Enterprize, he persuaded the Queen to take a Journey into the *Northern* Parts of her Kingdom, where his whole Estate lay, and he had the Command of all the Country: And in this he had two Ends, first he cou'd have MURRAY slain there with less Danger to himself, than in any other Place; and the other, that after the Blow should be given, the Queen herself being then wholly in his power, and encompass'd round only by such as were at his devotion, she wou'd be obliged to keep her word with him.

EVERY thing succeeding according to his Wish; he set out before, to prepare matters for her Reception; leaving his Wife, who was a Woman of great Wit and Subtilty, to accompany the Queen: She took all Opportunities

whenever they were alone, of insinuating the violent Passion her Son was possess'd of; and with a most admirable Artifice endeavour'd to draw out her most secret Thoughts: but she had a Princess to deal with, who was not to be sifted in this manner. The Conversations between these two ingenious Ladies serv'd only to convince each other that they were equally politick, equally designing; the *Queen's* Reserve however, convinced the *Countess*, that she had no real Design of marrying her Son, which communicating to the Earl by Letters, he resolv'd to take other Measures, than he had at first intended; believing, with good reason, that if he let slip this Opportunity, he shou'd never have another. — He met them therefore on the Road, and pretending to the Queen, that finding the Country not so well affected to him as he cou'd wish, intreated she would go to a Castle of his call'd *Stragburgh*, which was a Place strongly situated, telling her that that was the most proper Theatre for the Tragedy they were to act.

THE Queen cou'd not well refuse this Offer, without giving a Jealousy of the Cause; but growing exceedingly perplex'd

plex'd in her mind, as seeing into his Intent, thought of nothing but how to avoid it. — After many fruitless Revolutions of Thought, it seem'd impossible for her to avoid being compell'd to marry GORDON, in case MURRAY were slain; and tho' she desired nothing more earnestly than to be freed from this imperious Man, who from a Subject was become a Master, and had a very great Liking to the Person of the young Lord; yet neither the Insolence of the one, nor Charms of the other, were prevalent enough to make her resolve to consent to this Match. Her fertile Invention at last presented her with a Pretence, which might, she hoped, at least serve to put off the Earl from pressing immediately the Performance of her Promise. Young GORDON had been committed Prisoner to *Sterling* Castle, on the account of the Tumult, which the Artifice of his Father had rais'd in *Edinburgh*: And tho' he might easily be clear'd by the Forms of Justice, by proving he was not among them, (which he could easily have done) yet thinking that too tedious, and that his Presence would be necessary at *Stragburgh*, he found means to escape out of Prison, and overtook them as they were within few Miles of it. His

unexpected Presence furnish'd the Queen with a Pretext, which would have seem'd plausible enough to any, but a Man of the Earl's suspicious and disguising Nature; she told him she could not consent to marry a Criminal, at least one, that by the World was thought so; and that if he had any thing to hope from her, he must return to the Castle of *Sterling*. These Words gave a visible Shock to the Earl, who easily seeing into the Reason of them, answer'd her, That he was amazed she should demand so dangerous a Proof of his Son's Obedience; that she very well knew the Governor of *Sterling* Castle was the Earl of *MARR*, Uncle to *MURRAY*, who, on hearing of the Death of his Nephew, would certainly sacrifice that young Nobleman to his Revenge. It was to no purpose, that she insisted on her Honour, which must suffer in marrying a Person, who, as if he fear'd the Censure of the Law, had broke his Prison. The Earl told her, she ought not to stand on such Punctilios, as affairs then were, and that she shou'd too great a Nicety, and too little Affection for his Son, to give him leave to hope she design'd him for any other use, than the Tool of her Resentment on *MURRAY*, and then to fall himself

self a Martyr to his Love, and her Disdain. The Dispute between them rising to high Words, it ended at last in a total Quarrel; insomuch, that the Queen turn'd out of the Road, and refused to go to *Stragburgh* Castle, tho' she were then in sight of it; telling him, she wou'd seek the Accomplishment of her Designs by other ways, and forbidding him or his Son to appear before her, till she sent for them. The natural Greatness of her Spirit here broke out in spite of the Resolutions her Policy had form'd to keep fair with all sides; and she express'd herself with so perceivable a Disdain, that the Earl now plainly seeing, there was nothing to be done, but by downright Violence, determin'd to have recourse to that, and stop at nothing for the seizing her, and destroying MURRAY: Whereupon he withdrew himself with his Son, and all those of his Party, who had accompany'd him.

THE Queen prosecuted her Journey, till she came to a little City, of which the Earl of HUNTLEY was Governor, as also of the Castle that commanded it—The Garison, having by a Courier from the Earl been apprized of what had past between the Queen and him, refused to open

the Gates, and she was obliged to tarry all night in the City, which had no Walls. At the same time, she had notice, that the young Lord was near with a Thousand Horse, and a great Number of Foot; which Forces his Father had taken care to levy, in case there shou'd be occasion for them. Whereon making a Virtue of Necessity, she planted Guards at all the Avenues of the Suburbs, and kept Boats ready on a River, which run thro' the City, to be ready to go off, if any Exigence shou'd press her to it. In the mean time, some of young GORDON'S Vant-guard unadvisedly coming too near the Suburbs, they enclos'd them, and learn'd from them the exact Number of his Forces.

THE Queen having pass'd over that night in continual Alarms, heard the next morning, that a great part of young GORDON'S Troops had left him, as soon as they found he led them against her: To add to this welcome news, a great number of People hearing the danger she was in, flock'd to her from all parts; and finding a sufficient number, now laid siege to the Castle, which had refused her Entrance; and having easily won it, punish'd the chief of the Mutineers with Death;

Death, and pardon'd the rest : then dismissing those Forces which had come the farthest to her assistance, under the guard of the other she went to *Aberdeen*, where she safely arrived in four days.

A S there was now no way to hide the Insolence of the GORDONS, she was obliged to punish them ; and as that was not to be done without the assistance of MURRAY, she found herself under a necessity of applying to him. He, who was not without suspicion that she had taken that Journey under the Conduct of the Earl of HUNTLEY, but with an intent to throw him off entirely, if not ruin him, now exulted more than ever, and began to think it out of the power of his extremest Foes, or even Fortune itself, to prejudice him ; and resolving now to turn Destruction on their heads, who had contriv'd it for him, he rais'd an Army in the Queen's name, sufficient to have overthrown much greater Forces than the Earl was master of.

I N the mean time, young GORDON perceiving his Enterprize had fail'd, knew now there could be no medium in his Fate ; Death, if not the Possession of his Wishes, must be his Doom — He had

had gone too far to be forgiven, and must go farther yet, or poorly yield his Neck to the Executioner. He therefore set himself, with all the speed he could, to levy more Men; and having a large quantity of Ready-Money at command, he found a great many of desperate Fortunes willing enough to engage with him in this, or indeed any other Undertaking. GEORGE GORDON, Earl of SUTHERLAND, who was of the same Family, and his near Relation, help'd very much to encourage him in these Proceedings; not only letting him into the Queen's most secret Councils, but assuring him, that if all other ways fail'd, he would kill the Earl of MURRAY with his own Hands. Depending on these Offers, he resolv'd to besiege *Aberdeen*, where the Queen then was, not doubting but he should easily take it, knowing she had sent away great part of her Forces. In all probability he might have succeeded in this Attempt, had it been executed as soon as design'd, the Army which MURRAY had rais'd being gone to a quite different part of the Country, on a false Information that they should find GORDON there. But a Letter, in which was the whole Plan of the Contrivance being intercepted, several of his Friends, particularly the

the Earl of SUTHERLAND, sent him word not to proceed, but to retire with all possible expedition to the *Highlands*, till he could make his peace: But fatally push'd on by Love, or Ambition, or a mixture of both, he had not the power of following this Advice—His Father, tho' till now esteem'd a good Politician, seem'd infatuated with delusive Hopes, and bringing with him a few Troops join'd his Son, and strengthen'd him in his Resolution of going forward: But alas! before he half reach'd *Aberdeen*, they found the Earl of MURRAY at the head of many gallant Forces, prepared for their Reception—it was now too late to fly, if they had wish'd it; but 'tis said, this rash young Man, appear'd still confident of Victory, in spite of the Numbers that oppos'd him. One Reason indeed may be given for his Security, that there were a considerable number in the Army, who had privately sent him word, they would fall off from MURRAY the very moment they join'd battel. But this Treason being discover'd to the Earl, his Policy gave an admirable turn to the Affair; being inform'd of the particular Names of those who intended to revolt, he selected them from the rest, and forming a Party of them, commanded them

to

to begin the Fight, charging the rest of the Squadrons to keep close to them, but on no account assist them while there was a Man left alive.

THUS did his Policy turn the Arms of Treason against itself, they being by this means prevented from acting as they design'd; (for if they had in the least mov'd from their Ranks, the others had Commission to fall on them, and use them as Enemies) and perceiving they were discover'd, perform'd Wonders on the Side they found themselves obliged to fight: And the Earl of HUNTLEY, who expected not this Blow, was forc'd to give way: the rest of the Enemies Troops then falling on him, all was immediately on the rout, a great number of his Men were slain on the spot, and above two hundred were made Prisoners; among the latter was himself and his two Sons, the young Lord GORDON, and a Youth of about fourteen Years of age: but the Earl being extremely fat, and a vast number crowding about him, each being willing to share in the Honour of taking him, he was stifled between those that held him. His two Sons were carry'd in triumph to *Aberdeen*, where the Queen receiv'd not the News of the Victory with

with that Satisfaction as she made show of——She easily foresaw, that in doing her this Service, the Earl of MURRAY would become more her Master than ever. Had the GORDONS gain'd the better, she had only been in the power of a Man who lov'd her ; whereas she now was enslaved by one who made her but the Property of his own Ambition——

Her secret Prayers had been, that GORDON might be defeated, tho' preserv'd ; and that MURRAY might have the Victory, but at the cost of his Life ; by this means she would have been freed from the Tyranny of the one, and out of danger of being compell'd to give herself to the other ; who, tho' she liked, she could never bring herself to consent to marry. But every thing going contrary to her wish, she became so extremely pensive, that the whole Court took notice of it. MURRAY, whose business it was to possess the People with mean Notions of their Queen, that she might appear less capable of governing, insinuated that she was secretly in love with the young Lord GORDON. He obliged her to be at the Window when he was led by, chain'd and manacled like a common Malefactor. This Sight produced the desir'd Effect ; the fallen State of one of the great-

greatest, and (without exception) the loveliest and most accomplish'd Man in *Scotland*——a Man who, but a few days past, had the hope of being King——and a Man who, had she been less than Queen, would certainly have been by her own Inclination her Husband.——So sad a Change drew Tears from her Eyes; and thinking she might shew a concern for him without blushing, she endeavour'd not to suppress her Grief; she gave herself up to it, and the designing Earl had his Ends in it.

THE Earl of ARRAN, who was still passionately in love with her, beheld it with a secret Rage of Temper——He look'd on GORDON as a formidable Rival, tho' in Chains; he joins his Interest therefore with MURRAY's to compleat the Destruction of that unhappy Gentleman; and, in spite of all the Demurs the Queen, and her Council, by her private Orders, made against his Tryal, he was at last brought to it, condemned by Form of Law, and the Warrant for his Execution carry'd to the Queen to be sign'd.

LORD ARRAN took upon himself to be the Messenger; and never did Woman endure a greater struggle than
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did this over-ruled Princess, to conceal what she felt at sight of it : but having arm'd herself, as much as possible, before-hand, she discover'd not the secret Agitations of her Soul by her outward Behaviour : But knowing there was an absolute necessity for her signing, perform'd the cruel Task with a Resolution which might have taken from the Earl all his jealous Suspicions, had she not after given Proofs it had been forc'd.

BUT MURRAY, who had taken so much pains to make this Queen appear guilty of a Passion which he thought not to the advantage of her Glory, would not suffer her to carry it so : He therefore tells her, that she ought to be present at the Execution, thereby to undeceive the People, who, he made her believe, were incens'd, that it was with her own Knowledge and Consent, GORDON had attempted to seize her ; and with many Oaths that it was so, brought her at last to an opinion, that that Lord had himself the vanity to spread that Report. It is, Madam, *said he*, of the highest consequence to your Honour and your Interest, not to suffer the world to remain in such Notions ; and the only way to do this, is to be present at the Punishment of that
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Lord's audacious Folly : which will testify how much you approve the Execution, which he still continues to affirm you are rather compel'd to permit, than are satisfy'd with.

THE Earl of ARRAN, whose Jealousy still push'd him on to know that of which he was afraid, seconded the Arguments the other had alledged so strenuously, that the Queen knew not how to refuse them, without giving them reason to believe indeed, that her Affection would not permit her to see him die.

THE fatal Day being arriv'd, she summon'd all her Fortitude to her aid, to enable her to endure this Shock — a thousand times her Tendernefs, or, if you will, her Inclination, represented to her, how impossible it would be for her to do them so great a violence, without demonstrating by some outward Signs, the inward Workings of her tumultuous Soul; but the Earls of MURRAY and ARRAN coming pretty early into her Apartment, kept her in talk, till News was brought, that the Guards were gone to fetch GORDON from the Castle to the Scaffold. — She had now no time to
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invent any Excuse, and the Earl of MURRAY offering his Hand, she was obliged to suffer herself to be led by him into a Balcony which overlook'd the Place of Execution.

SHE had hardly a moment's time for Thought, when the unhappy Earl appear'd : At sight of him, his former Grandeur, the Love he bore her, all the tender and respectful things he had said to her, to convince her of his Passion, came now fresh into her mind ; and that Remembrance, join'd to the pity-moving Spectacle which now she saw him, involv'd her in such Agonies as were very near depriving her of her Senses——in vain she strove to hide her Grief, her Tremblings——her Change of Colour——and, at last, her Tèars, betray'd the mighty Anguish of her Soul, and baffled all her Resolutions. GORDON immediately fixing his eyes on her, demonstrated by his Looks, that the Concern he saw her in, softned the Pains of that Death he was going to suffer for her sake ; then kneeling down with his Face toward her, declar'd aloud what most were sensible of before, that it was for no other Crime he died, than too passionately loving what it was impossible to avoid

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loving—after which, he join'd in Prayer with his Confessor, and submitted to the Stroke of Death. The Executioner, either by chance, or instigated by MURRAY, hack'd him several times before he took off his Head: which Sight, adding to the Confusion his words had given her, so alarm'd the tender Nature of the Queen, that, giving a great shriek, she fell back swooning in the Arms of her Attendants, and by that means confirm'd her Adversaries in their opinion, who now openly declar'd, that she was in love with GORDON. The Earl of ARRAN's Grief was not much inferior to her's, tho' it proceeded from a different Cause; but knowing Reproaches would be vain, he contain'd himself, and strove by all manner of ways to divert the Queen's Melancholy.

BUT to return to the unhappy Family of the GORDONS: the youngest Son was pardon'd on the account of his Youth; but GEORGE, the eldest Brother of the executed Lord, who had married the Earl of HAMILTON's Daughter, having made his escape in the beginning of the Battel, his Father-in-law very strenuously solicited his Pardon, but in vain; and being taken as he was designing
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to embark for *Holland*, was carry'd to the Castle of *Dunbar*, where he was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, being convicted of High Treason by Form of Law.

IN the mean while, the Queen, who was come back to *Edinburgh*, was not without her Troubles, notwithstanding she had been crown'd, and solemnly acknowledged Queen of *Scotland*; yet one might truly say, her Authority had never been more limited. MURRAY dispos'd of every thing as he pleas'd; for the HAMILTONS, who alone were capable of making head against him, as being Princes of the Blood, had been on so bad a footing ever since the GORDONS Misfortunes, that they could not, as we have said before, obtain the Pardon of GEORGE, who was so nearly ally'd to them: And altho' the Queen herself had refused them that Request, nevertheless it was plain that her Brother had obliged her to it. As it was the *Protestants*, who, by the help of Queen ELIZABETH, had rais'd him to that pitch of Grandeur; he thought he could no better express his Gratitude, than by appearing zealous against the *Papists*: And tho' the Exercise of the *Römish* Religion had been forbidden by an Order of the Estates of

that Kingdom, yet still a great number of the Nobility, as well as common People, adhering to it, *Mass* was said in several Places : on which, MURRAY publish'd an Order against it, under severe Penalties; and the *Archbishop* of *St. Andrew's* continuing to do it, was clapt into Prison, and fined; and the other Priests in proportion. This made the Queen look about her, as foreseeing that if her Religion once fell, she must soon follow; and therefore concluded within herself, that the only way to ward off the Blow, was to marry some powerful Prince, by whose help she might be deliver'd out of the hands of those, whose Interest it was to raise Commotions in her Kingdom, and deprive her of her Authority; and therefore began to listen to the Proposals of Marriage made to her from all Parts.

THE Choice was very difficult to be made; she found it a hard matter to preserve her Interest with *France*, which there was a necessity of doing; and with *England*, with whom it was as dangerous to quarrel; and with her own Subjects, who, tho' of various Opinions, join'd in the contradicting any thing she offer'd: And it may truly be said, that never Woman

man was encompass'd with greater or more lasting Perplexities than she was, during her whole Reign.

AMONG the Competitors, PHILIP the Second, King of *Spain*, earnestly desir'd to have her marry his Son, the Infant DON CARLOS; well knowing, that it was by Alliances and Marriages that the House of AUSTRIA had been rais'd to the Grandeur it then enjoy'd: he had reason to press a Match which would restore to his Family the Titles of King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, which he himself had been honour'd with during the Life of Queen MARY his first Wife, and had been the Motive which induced him to make court to Queen ELIZABETH immediately after her Death, notwithstanding the difference of their Religions. The Cardinal of LORRAIN, whom our unfortunate Heroine consulted in this Affair, was also very sollicitous to bring it to pass——

Churchmen are not always exempt from Ambition and Vanity, no more than the Laity, and have frequently a greater share of both than other People; and to have his Niece marry'd to the Heir of so many Kingdoms, seem'd to add too great a Lustre to his Family for him not to exert

the utmost of his Power to compass it. It was indeed very near coming to a conclusion; but Fate order'd it so, that these two illustrious Persons, instead of uniting the largest States that had been known since the *Roman Empire*, should be remarkable Instances of the Instability of human Grandeur, and should move the Pity, as they had before stirr'd up the Envy of the Age they liv'd in, and dye it with such a Colour, as should never be blotted out.

AS it was not the Interest of *France* to let *Spain* grow more powerful than it was, KATHERINE DE MEDICIS, the Brain and Spirit of that Kingdom, to cross this Match, propos'd to the Queen of *Scots* for a Husband the Arch-Duke CHARLES, Brother to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN; insinuating, that such a Marriage would be much more to her advantage than the other; because, this Prince would live with her in *Scotland*, and assist her in the Management of her Affairs: but if she made choice of Don CARLOS, he would leave her to disintangle herself out of the Troubles she was in as well as she could, as his Father had done by Queen MARY of *England*. The *Spaniard* having some hint of this, resolv'd to be even with

with the *French*. There was at that time a Treaty on foot of a Marriage between ELIZABETH, Daughter of MAXIMILIAN, and CHARLES the Ninth of *France*: PHILIP, to put a stop to it, spreads abroad a Rumour, that it was only a feint, and that CHARLES in reality design'd to marry the Queen of *Scotland*, and to that end had sent to the *Pope* for a Dispensation. But because this Story could not be long undiscover'd, to make his Design more sure, he let MAXIMILIAN know, that he desir'd one of his Daughters for his Son; thinking that because he had promis'd him the choice of either of them a long time before, that this would prevent him from proceeding any farther with the *French* King, till he should see which of them it was that the Infant Don CARLOS should elect. But this Device had no better Success than the former.

QUEEN ELIZABETH of *England* was all this time no less busy; it concern'd her as much to prevent her marrying into either of these Families, (both being profess'd Enemies to that Religion, which alone upheld her Crown) as it did them to put a stop to the rising Growth of each other: As soon therefore as she was inform'd of these two Proposals, she let

her know she must lay aside all hope of Succession to the Crown of *England*, if she married either of these Princes: This Threat had been often try'd before with Success, and was indeed the weak side, which that Politic Queen always made use of, when she would oblige the other to comply with any thing. It did not indeed make her break off immediately, either with the *Infant*, or *Arch-duke*; but she mov'd so slowly in the Affairs, that she gave Opportunity to Love, or Time, to put an end to them, by a Stroke, which astonish'd all *Europe*, and put a stop to the Fears both of *France* and *England*.

THE Queen, that she might deliver herself in some measure from the Tyranny of MURRAY, (till such time as she shou'd pitch on a Husband to do it more effectually) began to give a more favourable Reception to the HAMILTONS than usual: And by this sudden Turn gave room, on purpose, to the Earl of ARRAN (as Lovers are apt to construe every thing to the Sense they wish) to think, that he might one day arrive at the Possession of what so many had fought in vain. Her Design in this, was to awaken that Family from the Lethargy, in which they seem'd to have lain ever since the GORDONS Misfortunes:

tunes; and by this means to kindle the Jealousy of the Earl of MURRAY, and break the Union, which at present seem'd between him and Lord ARRAN. The thing answer'd her Expectation, the Lover immediately built Castles in the Air: His Passion, which for a long time had been smother'd, either by Despair or Hate, now breaks out again, and burns more fierce than ever, and MURRAY began to grow excessively uneasy; he foresaw, that if this Match went on, it wou'd be of worse consequence to him, than if she had married either the Infant of *Spain*, or the *Arch-duke*, who being ignorant of the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, they must have been oblig'd to a Dependance on him. To hinder this more dreadful Evil, he therefore thought the only way wou'd be to call home the Earl of LENOX, who twenty-two Years before, had been banish'd by the Instigations of the HAMILTONS, between whose Houses there had been a mortal Enmity; not doubting but by this he shou'd put a terrible Thorn in the sides of the latter. The Earl of LENOX being of the Blood-Royal as well as they, and look'd upon by most People as preferable to the other in the Succession of the Crown, the Earl of HAMILTON's Birth being in Dispute:

His

His Father having married without a Dispensation, the Aunt of Cardinal BEATON, his first Wife, being still living. There was also, besides this, another known Reason, why the HAMILTONS might dread his coming home, which is this. After his Banishment from *Scotland*, he retired to *France*, where, for some time, he was very kindly entertain'd, and afterwards sent back into his own Country with some Authority, by those, who then govern'd both Kingdoms, and whose Interests were at that time intermingled. But whether by the Insinuations of the HAMILTONS, or that the thing was fact, is uncertain; but *France*, suspecting, that he was secretly a Pensioner to King HENRY the VIIIth, of *England*, he was forced to fly to this Prince, who receiv'd him graciously, and not only allow'd large Demesns for his Entertainment, (his own Estate being confiscated) but also marry'd him to MARGARET DOUGLAS, his Sister's Daughter, by whom he had the Lord DARTY, the finest Prince of the Age he liv'd in. So that here two things join'd to defeat the Designs of the HAMILTONS; the first, that his Person was so very agreeable, that there was no doubt, but that as soon as he declared a Passion for the Queen, (as MURRAY had encouraged him

him to do) he wou'd be prefer'd to **ARRAN**: The other was, that the Hope of the **CROWN of ENGLAND**, being the nearest thing at the **Queen's** heart, she cou'd not marry one more agreeable to that Nation, than the Person, who was next in the Right of Succession to herself, and had been born and bred up among them.

MURRAT flatter'd himself, that these Considerations wou'd induce the **Queen** to break off with the **Earl of ARRAN**, after which he doubted not, but he shou'd find means as easily to cross the Match with **Lord DARLY**, as he had done with the others, who had pretended to her. To bring this Design to pass, he prevail'd on **Queen ELIZABETH** to give the **Earl of LENOX** leave for three Months to come to *Scotland*, to solicit his Re-Establishment there: according to his Request, a little time brought him, accompany'd by his Son, to Court, where he presents himself to the States, and intreats to be restored to his Honours and Estate. Every thing being agreed on, the Faction of the **HAMILTONS** cou'd do nothing against it, the thing was no sooner ask'd than granted. In the mean while, the young Lord was so fortunate, or rather unfortunate, to inspire the **Queen** with a Tenderness

derness for him, which, while it gratify'd MURRAY's Intention of making her break off with ARRAN, gave him, at the same time, most terrible Fears, that it wou'd be very difficult for him to disunite Hearts which seem'd so firmly join'd. — He had been at first so eager to stop the Earl of ARRAN's Progress, that he had desir'd Queen ELIZABETH to write in favour of the other, according to both their Maxims, to break off one Match by proposing another. In order to this, that Queen had made her believe she should certainly succeed her in her Kingdom, if she married the Lord DARLY. Her Inclinations being thus warranted by ELIZABETH, she consented to it immediately; and having thus given into a Complaisance for a beautiful Prince, and admitted the Thought of making him in a short time her Husband, it was now in the power of any Person to hinder the Effects of a Passion accusom'd to produce very violent ones. In the meantime, MURRAY, who had already set his wits at work to cross this Match, only out of an ambitious View, was now doubly excited to it by Revenge.

THE Lord DARLY perceiving the Affection the Queen had for him, wou'd be beholden

beholden for his Fortune only to that Love: he became more reserv'd than usual to MURRAY; and to let him see that he depended wholly on himself, began to talk to him of the Management of Affairs, finding fault with this Transaction, and applauding the other, which was enough to make him know, that if he marry'd the Queen, his Administration was at an end; which incensing him to the highest degree, he resolv'd to stop at nothing to ruin him.

BUT if MURRAY was disquieted beyond measure, the Earl of ARRAN was infinitely more so — he had both Love and Jealousy to instigate Ambition, and make Revenge more keen. The Queen's Behaviour to Lord DARLY convinc'd him, that she never had any inclination for him, let her Pretences be what they wou'd, or that this more lovely Prince had supplanted him before his face — Enervate Rage at length giving way to Melancholy, he discover'd such tokens of the latter, as was obvious to the whole Court; MURRAY in particular taking notice of it, proposes to him to find out some means to break this Match, which would equally ruin both of them. ARRAN, who would willingly have under-
taken

taken any thing to have been revenged on the Queen, and ruin his Rival, willingly consented; but the difficulty lay in bringing over his Father to enter into any Measures with the Earl of MURRAY, who, ever since the recalling LENOX from Banishment, he had look'd on as his mortal Enemy ——— Nevertheless, as his Revenge on MURRAY might be put off to another time, and the means to hinder this Marriage could not, he agreed to do whatsoever they would have him— Being now in league together, they address themselves to Queen ELIZABETH; they let her know, that if this Marriage was compleated, the Kingdom was undone; that it was the GUISES, to whom DARLY had promis'd many things prejudicial, not only to *Scotland*, but to *England* also, who had influenced the Queen of *Scots* to think of him for a Husband; and that if she did not speedily exert herself to prevent it, 'twould be too late. These were Tidings no way pleasing to that Queen; she now plainly perceiv'd that MURRAY had miss'd of him, and, as she wrote him word, had taken no care to arm his Designs against the Power of Love. However, resolving to do what she could in the matter, she sent immediately to the Lord DARLY an Order to
leave

leave *Scotland* forthwith, the three Months allowed him being expired; on default whereof, he being born her Subject, she threatned to confiscate all his Goods and Chattels which he possessed in her Kingdom. But the Earl of *LENOX* wrote to her in such moving, and unanswerable terms, not to hinder his Son's Fortune, that she consider'd, to proceed farther by any open Measures, would look as if she were concern'd in the Intrigue. She therefore went another way to work: she sent an Ambassador to *Scotland*, who gave the Queen to understand, that her Marriage with the Lord *DARLY* was utterly displeasing to the States of *England*; and that if Queen *ELIZABETH*, out of mere kindness to her, had not prorogued the *Parliament*, they would certainly have excluded her the Succession——Beside this, she wrote a Letter to her with her own Hand, wherein she told her, that if she were fully bent on Marriage, and judg'd it necessary for the Welfare of her Kingdom, she would advise her to marry the Earl of *LEICESTER* rather than *DARLY*; and on this Condition made her a promise, that at the next sitting of the States, she should be declar'd Heir apparent to the Crown.

THERE

T H E R E have been various Opinions concerning this Offer of Queen ELIZABETH'S ; some wou'd have it, that being in love with LEICESTER, and having a Design to marry him herself, she only desired to prepare the People for it, by offering him to another Princess ; the pitch of Grandeur she had rais'd him to, seem'd to strengthen this Surmise : but be that as it will, the Queen of *Scotland* answer'd her, that she very much wonder'd she shou'd go about to cross a Match, which she herself had first propos'd ; that as for the Earl of LEICESTER, she cou'd never condescend to marry one, who was the other Day but a private Person, and therefore desired she wou'd approve of the Lord DARLY, who being a Native of *England*, her first Cousin, and next Heir to the Succession after herself, ought not to be unacceptable to her, nor to the People of *England*, among whom he had been born, and receiv'd his Education.

LOVE now gave this Princess a Courage, which neither Interest nor Ambition cou'd oblige her to assume, and resolutely bent to marry the Lord DARLY, let the consequence be what it wou'd,

she

she assembled the States of the Kingdom; and the Majority of them approving the Marriage, she created him Duke of ROTH-SAY, and Earl of Rosse, that he might by degrees rise to the Title she design'd to put him soon in possession of.

ON the other hand, the HAMILTONS, and the Earl of MURRAY, express'd as great an eagerness to set aside the Match, as she did to hasten it: among a thousand other ways which they essay'd in vain, they prepared an Ambush to surprize the Lord DARLY and his Father, as they were returning from *Johnstown* to *Edinburgh*, with the Queen. Their Design was to have kill'd them both, and then to have put it out of the Queen's power to revenge their Fall, by confining her in Prison, and after dividing the Kingdom among themselves. But this Design was discover'd, and as ineffectual as the rest.

THE Queen now foreseeing that they would fall upon her with all the Forces they could get together, as soon as her Marriage was consummated, to strengthen her Party, she recalls BOTHWELL, who had been banish'd some time before; and likewise the Earl of SUTHERLAND; one of whom was retired into

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Flanders, and the other into *France*, on the Disorders which we mention'd before ; and deliver'd, at the same time, **GEORGE GORDON**, the young Earl of **HUNTLEY**, out of Prison, restoring him to his Father's Honours and Estate. This last Action gave the finishing stroke to **MURRAY's** Disgust, who was a mortal Enemy to the imprison'd Earl. As soon as he was told the Dispensation was come from *Rome*, because of the Affinity of Blood between the Queen and the Lord **DARLY**, that he might render them odious to the People, he spread abroad a Rumour, that the *Pope* had granted it only on condition that the *Romish* Religion should be established in the Kingdom, and that the *Ecclesiasticks* should be restor'd to all their Lands, which were at this time in the hands of the Nobility. This Device was indeed a fit one for his turn ; for the greatest part of the Nobility having embraced the Reformed Church more out of Interest than Conscience, could not think of parting with the Church-Lands——To this he adds another Report, which was, that the Queen intended to annul the general Amnesty she had granted at her first coming to the Crown : By this means, a great number of People, and especially the Kindred
and

and Relations of the HAMILTONS (who during the time of the Earl's Regency, had committed many Outrages) would have been in great danger : and they must have rais'd Commotions, to have saved themselves from Prosecution.

EVERY thing being thus prepared, as soon as ever the Marriage was solemnized, which was on the 26th of *July* in the Year 1564, the Earls of HAMILTON and MURRAY threw off the Vizard ; and leaving the Earl of MORTON, one of their Faction, tho' not known to be so, with the Queen, they put themselves at the head of their Forces, who only waited for the word, and appear'd in the Field. Lord DARLY, who had been proclaim'd King HENRY the Day after his Marriage, rais'd an Army immediately, and march'd against the Rebels. Being come within sight of each other, altho' the Troops of HAMILTON and MURRAY were much more numerous, and that the Earl of MORTON, who commanded the Royalists Van, had promis'd to come over to them as soon as they join'd Battel ; yet nevertheless they refused to come to Blows, but retiring by degrees before the others, stop'd not till they came to the Borders of *England*—The HAMILTONS

were for pushing their Fortune by Battel; but MURRAY, who had the greatest Authority in the Army, would not trust this last stake to be determin'd by Courage; therefore had recourse to Cunning: He consider'd, that if the Queen should be overthrown, nothing could hinder the HAMILTONS, as things then stood, from ascending the Throne, as being the nearest Heirs to it: as he had not therefore made all this stir for their sakes, but his own; he was for keeping Affairs yet in the balance, till Time, and his inventive Brain, should furnish him with means to make the Advantage wholly his own.

THE King and Queen, now deliver'd from this Fear, taste with the Sweets of *Royalty* those of *Love*—Scarce will their mutual Ardors give them leave to shew themselves to their Subjects; and the tender Passion being much more predominant in the Soul of the new-made King, than Interest or Ambition; he was so taken up with the thoughts that he was the Husband of the most beautiful Woman in the World, that he had no time to reflect that he was also the Husband of a Queen, or to act in the manner another in that Station would have done.

BUT

BUT this Behaviour lasted no longer than that Love, which is never sooner extinguished than when it is most violent: in a small time, the Possession of the Object that had blinded him, open'd his eyes, and Indifference succeeding Rapture, made him think there were Joys in Life much more permanent than Love could give; and being by some of MORTON's Emissaries incensed with continual Insinuations, that he had too little the Management of Publick Affairs, he began to complain that he was no King, tho' he had married the Queen; and not considering what she had done for him, took it ill she did no more.——His Repinings were not so secret, but that the Queen was told of them, with additions; and this, join'd to a Coldness too common in Mankind after enjoyment, made her look on him as ungrateful, and unworthy of the Honours she had confer'd on him. The Misunderstanding between them went no farther for some time, than to change the extreme Tenderness they once had for each other, into Neglect: but at last, as if *Love* had a mind to prove he was not one of the least Instruments of *Fate*, to show he has power to overthrow Greatness, as well as to raise it, he in-

fluenc'd the King to a Fault, which, considering the obligations he had to the Queen, made him appear as criminal to the *World*, as we account Persons so guilty in the eye of *Heaven*. Pleasure, they say, is the greatest Enemy to Kings, and that it is as hard for them to defend themselves against it, as it is for others to compass it——If ever this Maxim held good, we must acknowledge it did in HENRY; he not only suffered a Flame to go out, which both Reason and Gratitude should for ever have preserv'd in its first Vigour, but permitted another to kindle itself in his Soul, and blaze out even before her face, whom he ought most to have conceal'd it from. The jealous Queen then felt severely that Repentance which Marriage merely for Inclination generally draws on: And as it is very hard not to revenge an Injury, when it is offer'd without a cause, especially when the Offender is in our power; she now kept no measures with her transgressing Husband——she had hitherto set his Name before her own in all Dispatches; she now revers'd that matter, and set her's first, or quite omitted his: But this working no change in him, she continued with her Council in one City, while he was in another, scarce attended by any other
Equi-

Equipage than Huntsmen, which was his
 serious Employment—— But he who
 was the great Fomenter of these Feuds,
 was the Earl of MORTON, who, as we
 before observ'd, was left by the Rebels
 near the Queen's Person, only that he
 might find an Opportunity to betray her.
 The fair Occasion that the different Hu-
 mours of this unhappy, tho' illustrious
 Pair, gave him of exercising his Talent of
 Dissimulation, he managed to the best
 advantage for his wicked purpose. He
 told the King, that it was equally shame-
 ful to the Kingdom and to his own Ho-
 nour, that a Woman should be Mistress,
 while they had a King fit to have the rule;
 that all the Nobility were exasperated at
 it, and that he need not doubt but they
 would all join in the first step he should
 make to redress so just a Grievance. The
 Person who at present was the Queen's
 First Minister, was one DAVID RIZO, a
Piedmontois, a Man well vers'd in Poli-
 ticks, and that one Quality had rais'd him
 to the Charge he then possess'd: He told
 the King, that he ought not to suffer a
 Man who was taken from the Dregs of
 the People, to have the ordering of Af-
 fairs which of right belong'd to him:
 and afterwards finding him too liable to
 credit all the Reports which should be

made him to the prejudice of his Queen and his own Peace, he hinted by some obscure words, that there was something more than bare Esteem and Friendship between the Queen and this Minister, which is a Falshood that several since have spread abroad of this unfortunate Princess; tho' never was any thing more scandalous and improbable: for besides that RIZO was old, he was the worst shaped Man in the world, and the least likely to inspire Love. But her reason for raising him to that height was plain; she was surrounded by only Traitors, or self-interested Friends, and found herself obliged to employ Strangers, if she would have any body about her, whose Interest depended on her Safety.

THE King, however, gave a rash belief to all MORTON told him, and receiv'd the greatest Perfidiousness that ever was, as a Token of Zeal for his Service.

HAVING succeeded so well with the believing HENRY, he next practis'd on the Queen; he lays before her the King's Ingratitude in chusing a Mistress even among those that attended her, after she had rais'd him to the highest pitch of Grandeur he could attain to. He ad-

ded,

ded, that, not content to be a Partner in her Power, he aim'd to become sole Master; and assur'd her, that he was entering into Measures, which, if she did not take care to circumvent, would certainly deprive her of her Authority: He also told her, the Nobility in general commiserated her Misfortune, and had many Causes of Complaint against HENRY, whose Arrogance and Pride was become intolerable to them: That she need not scruple to act as she pleas'd with her Husband; for that the Persons join'd in a Confederacy with him, tho' in time they might grow dangerous, were only such as she might easily crush, assisted by those Men of Worth and Fortune who were resolv'd to stick by her. MORTON took not this Course with the Queen, that he would have had her in reality undertake any thing, but only to exasperate her so much against her Husband, that there might be no possibility of a Reconciliation between them; as several People, especially the Churchmen, were endeavouring to bring about.

BUT having gone on with so much Success, he stop'd not here his mischievous Intent; in a little time he wrought so far on the King's believing Nature, as
to

to persuade him to declare himself Head of a Party, and made him consent to call home the Fugitives, to take the Management entirely out of the Queen's hands, to clap her into Prison, nay, even to use her in a worse manner, as the King afterward confess'd to the Queen herself.

THE States of the Kingdom being now assembled at the Queen's desire, who being willing to take the advantage of MURRAY'S Absence, that she might do something in favour of the Protestants, had summon'd them together——She entreated, that those of her Religion might have the free Exercise of it, without being compell'd to join with the Congregations of the *Calvinists*: and then coming to touch on another Head, which was, to rectify some Abuses crept into the Forms of Justice; as this would have drawn after it the Condemnation of all the Rebels in *England*, the Malecontents thought this was the time to pull off the Mask; and to prevent this from passing, many dreadful things were contrived: RIZO'S Death was the first Act of the intended Tragedy.

ONE Evening, as the Queen was at Supper with the Countess of ARGILE,
and

and DAVID RIZO, she was surprized by the sudden coming in of King HENRY, follow'd by the Earl of MORTON, the Lord REUVEN, the Bastard of ANGUS, and several other arm'd Men. REUVEN, who had on a Helmet, went and sat down next the Queen, she told him that was not a Habit, or Behaviour of a Person, who meant well: To which he answer'd, that he had no Design to *hurt*, but to *cure* her of a Disease, which stuck too close to her. In that instant they all fell upon RIZO in such a manner, that the Queen, whose Robe he catch'd hold of, crying out Justice! Justice! cou'd not save him.—They gave him several Wounds over the Queen's Shoulder, whom the King all this while held in his Arms, to prevent her from stirring, telling her all this while, that what was done was for her good: RIZO's Blood spouted upon her, and some add, that the Son of REUVEN had the Impudence to clap a Pistol to her Breast, tho' she was big with Child, and ready to lie in, and threatned to kill her, if she testify'd her Dislike of their Proceeding. Some will have it, that the Design of the Conspirators was really to murder her, and that the thing had been accomplish'd, had not young REUVEN's Pistol been turn'd away.

This

This Surmise was built on this ground, because it had been much easier to have kill'd Rizo the Day before, when he play'd several Hours at Tennis with the King. After this Murder, all the Queen's Officers were immediately displaced, and fourscore of the factious Party set over her, as a Guard to prevent her Correspondence with any one.

THE next Morning, MURRAY, the HAMILTONS and others, who had fled into *England*, came back: as this was the last Day allow'd them for their Appearance, on default of which, all their Goods were to be confiscated, their Escutcheons torn, and themselves and Issue degraded from their Honours, they took care, having the way prepared for them by MORTON, as has been already represented, to prevent a Mischiefe, which, when once done, they cou'd not easily remedy. At their Arrival, they held a Council with the King, the Earl of MORTON, and others of the Party, who had serv'd them so effectually in their Absence, to consult what should be done with the Queen. The Majority were for going further, and getting rid of her at any rate; and to work the King to consent, they assured him, if that were done,

done they wou'd henceforward acknowledge no other Authority than his. But his not giving a ready Answer, occasion'd a good deal of Uneasiness among them, who having offended beyond Hope of Pardon, cou'd have no Safety, but in her Death. To appease the People, however, who were already taking up Arms, and prevent the *French* King, and other *Romish* Princes, who wou'd think themselves obliged to revenge her Quarrel, they gave out, that the King had caught her in open Adultery with her Secretary DAVID RIZO; 'tis probable indeed, that they might have brought about the most horrid of their Designs, if MURRAY, doubly a Traitor, had not himself been the Occasion of circumventing those Plots, of which he was the sole Contriver: By HENRY'S Behaviour doubting two things; first, that he not seeming willing for the Queen's Death, he fear'd there were still some remains of Tenderness for her, which Tenderness might in time grow up to a Reconciliation; the other, that if the whole Authority were deposited in his hands, he should be little consider'd either by Prince or People. To prevent either of these, and keep things in suspense, he resolved once more to sound the Queen: To which purpose,
he

he made a visit to her, without the privy of the others——he endeavour'd to excuse his taking arms against her, and leaving the Kingdom without her leave, protesting those were the only Crimes he had been guilty of against her, and that he had no hand in the Conspiracy, nor the Death of Rizo; but told her withall, that if she did not consent to pardon those that kill'd him, she would be in danger herself.—The Queen answer'd him, that he had never found her of a revengeful Temper, but that, on the contrary, too many of her rebellious Subjects had partook of her Clemency, which she suppos'd had encouraged them to repeated Boldnesses; however, she did not repent her Mercy, because, she said, she thought it the most glorious Quality belonging to a crown'd Head: but as things stood, it was not in her power to extend it to them, since not being at liberty, all she did would be of no effect. On the whole, she behaved towards him with a prodigious Reserve; and he went from her very much dissatisfy'd.

IN the mean time, the King being inform'd of this Visit, and mistrusting from the known Artifice of this Earl some Counter-plot, resolv'd to fathom the bottom

tom of it, if possible; and, notwithstanding the great Animosity which was now between the Queen and him, he goes directly to her. As soon as ever she saw him, without giving him leave to speak first, she thus began: Is this, Sir, *said she, bursting into a Flood of Tears*, is this the Reward I could have expected for raising you to the Crown? If I have done any thing worthy of Death, what Crime has the poor Infant that I bear, committed? and on whose Preservation your Safety, or Ruin, depends. Think, Sir! Oh think! *contin'd she, looking on him with Eyes streaming with unextinguish'd Love and Grief*, these Malecontents but push you on to cut down the Tree, that the Fruit may fall and perish, which can alone subsist your Grandeur. These words, pronounced with all the Charms of an afflicted Beauty, had in an instant so wonderful an effect upon the King, that casting himself at her feet, he could not for some time speak one word for weeping: the lamentable Condition his Wife was in, made him no longer consider her as an imperious Mistress; and the sight of her Distress reviving the Passion he formerly had for her, he could have remain'd an Age in that posture of Penitence and Sorrow, if the danger he knew
her

her to be in, had not oblig'd him to break the tender Scene: He confess'd to her the whole Plot——how the Conspirators had resolv'd to take off the Heads of the principal Men in the Kingdom, and to make away even her own Maids of Honour, that there might be none left to contradict those Reports they design'd to spread to the prejudice of her Character; and that after all, she was to be secretly destroy'd; which last Article he protested, and 'tis certain, with a great deal of truth, struck him with horror whenever it was mentioned, tho' at the time that he was made to believe she deserv'd least from him. He concluded this Information by a solemn Vow, that he would quit the Cabal entirely, and run the same hazard with her; and that as he fear'd there was small hope of her escaping the Snares laid for her, to make some reparation for the Faults he had been betray'd to commit, and to hinder the world from looking on him as an Example of the highest Ingratitude, he would not stir from her, but share in all her Dangers, and her Fate. As there is nothing so moving as the Complaints of one we love, the Queen, who had been more afflicted at his Unkindness, than at all other Misfortunes, was so much transported

ported at his return of Tenderness, that she a thousand times since declar'd, she never felt so entire a Satisfaction in her whole life before.

AFTER some mutual Demonstrations of an inviolable Affection, having been inform'd by the King, that they not only intended to take away her Life and Crown, but also her Reputation; the latter was so dear to her, that she resolv'd to take care of the two former, to preserve that. She therefore intreated the King to go back to them, and acquaint them that he found her in the Disposition they desired, of granting all they demand'd; but that she was so dangerously ill, that she doubted if she should live till morning, if they did not remove those Guards they had placed about her, who used her in a most disrespectful and unbecoming manner, and suffer her own People to wait on her: and desiring him to add, that he was sensible her Weakness would not permit her to undertake any thing for her escape.

THE Conspirators, who waited with great impatience to know what pass'd between the Queen and him, being told this story, were a long time deliberating

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what they should do; some were of opinion, that they could not have a better opportunity of making her away; and since there was no Safety for them in her Life, it was better to let her die for want of Help, than to imbrue their Hands in her Blood: Others believ'd it more politick to defer the Deed, till she had sign'd the Act of Grace. While this Debate lasted, one, who by the King's order had been employ'd for that purpose, came in and told them, that the Queen was just expiring: On which they agreed, that the King, under the pretence of Kindness, should watch with her that Night, and that the Guards should be drawn out of the Palace.

THIS was all she wanted; and as soon as she saw those about her whom she could trust, she dispatch'd a Messenger to a certain Nobleman near *Edinburgh*, whom she could confide in, desiring him to get together about two hundred Horse, and to be ready at the City-Gates at Midnight. The time being come, the King and Queen got on horseback at a little Door of the Palace, and went to meet the Forces appointed.

ALTHO' the Queen, being very great with child, was obliged to ride behind a Gentleman, the Danger, if discover'd being imminent, they were forc'd to gallop : they made such haste, that early next morning they reach'd *Dunbar*, which is about fifteen Leagues from *Edinburgh*.

AS soon as the Conspirators had notice of their Flight, they fell into the utmost rage ; but because the Earls of HUNTLEY and BOTHWELL (who had escaped out of the Window, when RIZO was kill'd) having rais'd eight or nine thousand Men, march'd against the Rebels with great diligence, they were obliged to fly before them : Some of them, as MORTON, REUVEN, and LINDSAY, retreated into *England* ; and the others, took refuge in the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, with MURRAY, who doubted not, but by some yet undiscover'd Emiffaries, whom he had left behind him, he should again find means to work himself into favour. And indeed a little time prov'd that his Hopes did not deceive him : When the King and Queen were return'd to *Edinburgh*, and the Flight of the Rebels had restor'd every thing to

its former Tranquillity; this unhappy Princess, for whom it was ordain'd that she should know but short Intervals of Peace, was again perplexed with new Disputes about Religion: and being too great a Bigot to that which she had been educated in, began to act some things against the *Protestants*, which occasion'd new Commotions; and they being by this time more powerfully supported than the *Papists*, she was obliged, very contrary to her Inclination, to humour them in the pardoning and recalling MURRAY, whose specious shew of Virtue had made them think the most worthy of the Nobility.

AT his return, he counterfeited so sincere a Contrition for having ever offended her, and behaved with so much Humility and seeming Gratitude for the Clemency she had shew'd him, that she was again deceiv'd by these outward Appearances, and again put it into his power to betray her, by letting him into her most secret Thoughts, and taking him into her Council; as she did also BOTHWELL, who was in great favour, since he had so seasonably contributed to deliver both her and the King out of the Hands of their Enemies.

The End of the first Part.



MARY STUART,

Queen of *Scotland.*

PART II.



WHILE these things were compleating, the Queen was brought to bed of a Son, whose God-father was the King of *France*, and his God-mother ELIZABETH Queen of *England*. This kept the Male-contents for some time in due bounds; be-

sides, the King and Queen, now more firmly united, broke the neck of all their pernicious Designs : But at last the Earl of MURRAY's busy and ambitious Nature exerted itself again, to disturb the Tranquillity of a long harass'd Kingdom. He makes use of all his unhappily regain'd Credit, join'd with that of BOTHWELL's, to have MORTON and the other Fugitives recall'd ; which being granted, and these Men restor'd, the first thing they did, was to endeavour once more to sow Dissension between the King and Queen. MURRAY, who was the subtlest of all the Cabal, and knew himself hated by the King, contrived to make that very Hatred subservient to his ends. — He never left the Queen's side, and by double Assiduities and unceasing Protestations of an inviolable Fidelity to her, won so much on her generous and too easily believing Nature, as to be the only Person consulted by her in any important Affair. — HENRY was not well pleas'd with the Deference she paid him, but believing it proceeded more from Necessity than Choice, it gave him not that Distaste, which otherwise it would have done. This pass'd on for some time, but MURRAY, who behaved purposely toward him with an unpardonable Arrogance, whenever

whenever the Queen was not in presence, at length provoked him so far, that he resolved by some means or other to rid himself of his Insults. And little imagining the Queen had in reality entertain'd a good Opinion of him; he communicated his Thoughts to her, telling her that it was impossible for either of them to be absolute, while that Traytor liv'd; and that he thought it no Breach of Religion or Morality to make away with a Person, who study'd nothing, but to raise Commotions——and that since his Power was too great to admit of the common Forms of Justice, they must destroy him by private means. But she, who was naturally of the most merciful Disposition in the World, and besides, believ'd the Earl was now become a true Penitent, and as zealous for her Interest as he seem'd to be, express'd a great Abhorrence of such an Action, and conjured the King, by all the Love and Tenderness he had for her, never to think of such a thing again.——He was not perfectly satisfied with a Reply so unexpected; but 'tis probable wou'd have thought no further of it, if some Incendiaries, set on by MURRAY himself, had not insinuated to him, that the great Favour the Queen shou'd to him, was only

to prevent her Husband from too absolute an Authority, which wou'd give him a greater Liberty of inspecting into her Actions, than she was willing he shou'd have. This occasioning him to treat her with more coldness than he was accus-tom'd, was not a little pleasing to the Earl, and taking his advantage of it, grew every day more and more diligent about the Queen; which engaging her to increase her Marks of Fayour to him, the King imagin'd it proceeded merely from the Desire of opposing him, at which he became so excessively discontented, that not induring to be an Eye-witness any longer of what was so grating to his Nature, he retired to *Glasgow*, to ruminate what was best to be done for his Revenge, leaving the Queen at *Edinburgh*, little pleas'd with his abrupt Departure.

THIS was what MURRAY wanted, and gave him room to lay the Foundation of the basest and blackest Treason, that ever enter'd the Heart of Man. He had made Peace with BOTHWELL only to serve his own ends; for finding him of a bold and enterprizing Nature, he thought it best, by the Pretence of Friendship, to take him off from being a hindrance to his Designs, as he had been before.

before.——He was among the Number of those, who felt the Influence of the Queen's Eyes, and had not Artifice sufficient to conceal it from the unerring Penetration of the Quick-sighted MURRAY; who, glad of the Discovery, made his use of it in this manner. He told him, that HENRY was a young giddy Fool, altogether incapable of ruling a Kingdom——that the Queen wou'd be glad to get rid of him, if it cou'd be done without her appearing to be privy to it; ——that his Ingratitude to her had render'd the very sight of him uneasy to her; ——and in a word, that he wou'd infinitely oblige her in making him away.—He added moreover, to push him on, that he was secretly of a cruel Disposition, that he had slain the Secretary RIZO, and wou'd have done the same by him, had he not escaped out of the Window:——and at last, to bring him intirely to the Point he desired, he gave him Hints, that he might marry the Queen, who being obliged to have a Husband fit to command, that she might keep her Subjects in awe, wou'd in all likelihood prefer him to any other, not only in consideration of the Service he had done her, but because himself and all his Faction wou'd back his Sollicitations, and

and in a manner compel her to it, if it could be done by no other means; tho', *said he*, there is no danger of our flying to Extremities; she has already a Friendship for you, which differs but little from what is call'd Love.

THIS Proposal had the effect the Maker of it desir'd, on the credulous BOTHWELL; who being equally excited by Love and Ambition, doubted not but he should have both Passions gratify'd by this Blow: So that, without looking any farther into the matter, or giving himself time to consider what Ends MURRAY might have in it, he immediately gave into it, and promis'd even more than he was required to do. The Earl having thus wrought on BOTHWELL, went from him to the Queen, and told her that he had lately made a discovery of the most pernicious Design that could be against her Dignity, if not her Life: That King HENRY had withdrawn himself to *Glasgow*, only to the end that he might assemble his Friends together with less suspicion; and that the Design was entirely to displace the Ministry she had made choice of, and deprive her of the Power of electing any others for the future—adding thereunto, that if she did not immediately

mediately countermine their Plots, it would be too late. Never was any Stragem more barbarous and cruel than was this, his intent being to provoke her to use violent Methods against her Husband, that so when BOTHWELL should murder him, it might appear to the People as an Act consented to by her; and by that means render her too odious to be suffer'd long on the Throne. But this time he fail'd in the Success he expected: Tho' the Queen saw not into the bottom of the Treachery, nor could believe him vile; yet very well knowing there was no amity between the King and him, she look'd on this as a piece of Malice; which she was so far from approving, that she chid the Earl heartily, for endeavouring to make her the Property of his Ill-nature: telling him withall, that it became not a Subject to see the Faults of his Sovereign; and since she had thought fit to confer that Title on HENRY, those who had a dependance on her, ought to treat him as such. It was to no purpose, that he endeavour'd, by a thousand Protestations, to bring her to a belief, that he had utter'd nothing but sacred Truth, and that it was only his too great Zeal for her Interest and Glory which had incurr'd her Displeasure; she remain'd still in the same

same mind; and charg'd him to bring her no more such unwelcome Tidings, which she neither believ'd, nor would thank him for repeating, if she did.

NEVER had this Earl met with so great a Mortification before: however, he receded not from his first Asseverations, hoping that, with what Resolution soever she might carry it before him, the Impression of what he said would hereafter sink into her Soul, and cause a Strangeness between them, which might be of advantage to his Designs. But an Accident happen'd soon after this, which convinced him this Princess was not now so easy to be impos'd on, as he had formerly found her.

A Courier arriv'd with News, that the King was taken ill at *Glasgow*; and on the first notice, in spite of their former Coldness, and all that MURRAY had told her, and by his Emissaries still continu'd to insinuate, that this Indisposition was but a feint, in order to draw her to a Place where the pretended Conspirators might have a better opportunity of putting in execution their Design, she order'd her Equipage immediately to be got ready, and went to *Glasgow*, where she

she shew'd all possible Demonstrations of her continu'd Affection for him, and Concern for his Sickness.

THIS was a second, and more terrible Disappointment to MURRAY; the prodigious Care and Tenderneſs ſhe expreſs'd, he fear'd, would make it difficult for him to render her ſuſpected as an Abettor and Accomplice of his Murder: yet, unweary'd in the Toils of Miſchief, he reſolv'd not to deſiſt, till he had ſome way or other compaſs'd his horrid Purpoſe. He found means to bribe a Phyſician to adviſe the Queen to remove her Huſband from *Glaſcow* to *Edinburgh*, to the Provost's Houſe, which ſtood on a Riſing-Ground near the City-Walls, alledging that the Air of *Glaſcow* was unwholeſome; and brought for a Precedent the Lord BORTHWICK, who being dangerously ill, he ſaid had been recover'd at that Houſe. The poor deluded Queen, being willing to contribute every thing in her power toward the reſtoring him to his Health, immediately obey'd this Advice; and by this means gratify'd the cruel Earl two ways; the firſt, that the King having many Friends at *Glaſcow*, it was not altogether ſo ſafe to deſtroy him there, as at the Provost's Houſe,
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which being but small, could entertain but a few of his particular Servants: and the other, that he being remov'd by the Queen's Desire to that Place where the Murder should be committed, it would help the Asperſion he design'd to caſt upon her, that ſhe brought him there for no other purpoſe. So great was her Tenderneſs for him, whatever ſome People may have alledg'd, that ſhe had Lodgings in a neighbouring Houſe, that ſhe might be near him, and hear from him on any alteration; ſtaying with him always till Midnight, and adminiſtring every thing, that was order'd for him to take, with her own Hands.

BUT all things being now in readineſs for the Tragedy, the Earl of MURRAY, to take from himſelf all Suſpicion of the Villany in hand, ask'd the Queen's leave the day before the Murder was committed, to go to his Wife, who, he pretended, had by ſome Accident hurt herſelf; yet nevertheleſs, he could not forbear telling the Lord HERRIS, when he was going, that perhaps the King might be dead the next Night; which he repeated ſeveral times in the Ship, as he was paſſing an Arm of the Sea, as he was oblig'd to do, to go from *Edinburgh* to

to his House; which the Lord HERRIS maintain'd to his face afterwards at *Tork*, before the Deputies of Queen ELIZABETH: by which one may guess, whether he was so innocent of the Murder, as BUCHANAN would make him appear, who was his Pensioner, and whom he had promis'd to make *Patriarch* of the *Protestants*, in case his Designs succeeded.

BUT to return to the Thread of our History: After MURRAY's Departure, the Queen returning, as was her custom, late at night from visiting her Husband, fancied she smelt a great Smell of Gunpowder, and spoke of it to several who were about her; but they in reality not taking notice of it, or being privy to the thing, endeavour'd to persuade her off of it: tho' in reality BOTHWELL and MORTON's People had convey'd several Barrels into a Cellar under the King's Chamber.

WHEN she was retir'd, BOTHWELL and MORTON, with five or six others, enter'd the King's Chamber, where finding nobody but one Gentleman lying by him asleep, they immediately fell on them, and strangled them, without giving
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them time to cry out; then going out again, they came into the City by a private Door, which they had made in a neighbouring Wall some days before for that purpose; that so, Being at that distance from the Place, both the Night before, and Morning after the Execution, they might not be suspected of the Guilt. About two Hours after they were gone, fire was set to the Powder, by the help of a Train laid for a great length, which blew up the House, and shook a great part of the Wall. The Queen waked at the Noise, and was excessively surprized and frighted; she remain'd for some time in ignorance, none about her daring to acquaint her with so terrible a piece of News; till growing importunate, and dreading, by their silence, some fatal Event, she was at last inform'd: but when she was so, her Swoonings, her Tears, and Lamentations, sufficiently clear'd her in the eyes of all who saw her, of those Aspersions her cruel Enemies afterwards cast on her, of being accessary to the Affair.

THE Day after, arriv'd a Courier from the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the *Scotch* Ambassador at the Court of *France*, which at that time was at *Marseilles*,

feilles, to let the Queen know, that there was a dangerous Conspiracy carry'd on, either against herself, her Husband, or young Son.

THE News being spread abroad in the City, every one talk'd of it, according to his own opinion ; but those who were the most clear-sighted, and were under no Engagements with the Rebels, easily guess'd at the Authors of it. But those set on by the Malecontents, whisper'd, that the Queen and BOTHWELL having contriv'd the Death of the King, rais'd this Report only as a Blind, and to amuse the World from looking into their Proceedings.

IN the mean time, the poor Queen, knowing nothing of all this, bent her whole Mind and Study to the Discovery of the Murderers——She gave orders to the Chief Justice to use his utmost Endeavours to bring the dark Actors of this horrid Scene to light, and to put all those who liv'd near the Provost's House to the Rack, in order to get out of them, who had pass'd in or out the Gates. But in this she was as much impos'd upon, as she had been in many other Affairs; for he, being one of the Confederates, instead

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of sifting the matter, used his utmost Efforts to sift the Evidences.

AT the same time, the Rebels, to compleat their Mischief, pasted Libells up and down the City, wherein they accused the Queen and BOTHWELL of being Accomplices in the Murder of the King: Their Aim in this being to link the Queen's and BOTHWELL's Interests so together, that her Justification shou'd be on the same foot with a Man's, who cou'd easily be convicted of the Murder. As she had been deceiv'd in the whole Affair, so she was still so, and believ'd the Earl of BOTHWELL wholly innocent; nevertheless, thinking it would be the shortest way to stop all these Rumours, she deliver'd him into the hands of Justice; that on one side, he might have an Opportunity of clearing himself, and on the other, she might convince the World, that she had nothing to reproach herself with on this account. This Method was indeed very near overthrowing the Malice of her Enemies, for the Earl of LENOX, Father to the murder'd King, had not only accused BOTHWELL himself, but had also gather'd together a great Number of Witnesses, who cou'd plainly have prov'd him guilty of the Fact,

which

which he being inform'd of, was about to discover all his Accomplices to save himself; but as there were so many concern'd in it, and MURRAY, whose Head was never idle, among them, they found a way to remedy this Danger.—

They managed it so, that the Commission to try BOTHWELL was put into such hands as were too deeply concern'd in the Affair to suffer him to be detected.—

In the mean time, by private Threatnings, they so terrify'd the Earl of LENOX, that thinking there was no other means of Safety, he drop'd his purpos'd Revenge, and stole out of the City by night, and the other Witnesses, by his example, follow'd; so the Prosecution was stop'd, and BOTHWELL declared innocent. Here we must take notice by the way, that these were the very same Judges, that afterwards went into *England* to accuse the Queen of setting on BOTHWELL to kill the King.

THE Earl of MURRAY, who intended to be the greatest Gainer by this Affair, while things were in this Position, after he had given Directions to his Colleagues how to proceed in his absence, desired the Queen's Permission to go to *France*, pretending there was an urgent

Occasion for his going there: which having obtain'd, he told her at the time he took his leave, that he fear'd she wou'd never be able to appease the Troubles in *Scotland*, till she took a Husband capable of governing. Finding her inclining to this Advice, he added, that she must not think of marrying a Stranger, for the *Scots* wou'd never suffer a Foreigner to rule over them; bringing for Example her Mother, who had seen nothing but Disorders all the Time of her Regency; and likewise her own first Marriage with FRANCIS the Second of *France*, whom they would never acknowledge as King; but if she pleas'd to pitch on any Nobleman of the Kingdom, she might chuse whom she wou'd, promising, at the same time, to oblige all his Party to own him, and be faithful to her. She gave but little Reply to the Harangue he made her on this Occasion, nor did he press her to say much, his Business being, but to open the Scene, which those he left behind him undertook to finish.

AFTER his Departure, those of his Faction daily following her with the same Admonitions, BOTHWELL was the Person they at last propos'd to her. —

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They told her he was a Nobleman very well accomplish'd, brave, generous, and entirely beloved of the People. He, on his side, leaves nothing undone, to raise his Fortunes, or indeed to ruin them; he being in Reality but an Under-Tool, which the Master-Villains made use of to do their Work, and then be crush'd to pieces himself. He is more assiduous than ever about the Queen's Person, and gives Assurances every moment of an inviolable Fidelity. This perplex'd her very much; she saw on one hand, that the Disproportion of her last Marriage, having displeas'd all the Princes of *Europe*, who had sought her in Marriage, drawn upon her the Contempt of her Subjects, and astonish'd all the World; this, which was now propos'd, wou'd not only produce the same Effects, and in a more surprising manner, but wou'd also strengthen the Surmises of several, who gave credit to those Aspersions thrown upon her of being guilty of her Husband's Death.——On the other hand, she cou'd not well tell how to defend herself from the Importunities of those, who had but too well taught her by Experience, that it was necessary for her to follow their Counsel. In short, let any one form an Idea to himself of a young

Princess of two and twenty Years of Age, surrounded on all sides with Malecontents, Traitors, and People of a different Religion, and far from taxing her with Imprudence, they will pity the cruel Necessity she was in, and conclude, that from the Time of her leaving *France*, her Life had been a continu'd Series of Misfortunes, in which she had only the Liberty of chusing which she wou'd fall into.

THAT she might escape the Sollicitations, which were daily, almost hourly made her, and at the same time, not exasperate a Man, who she knew had it in his power to become a dangerous Enemy; she answer'd, that she cou'd not reconcile to her Conscience, the Thoughts of marrying a Person, who had two Wives living, neither of those Marriages being in her Opinion sufficiently annull'd to render it lawful for him to enter into a third: But this, instead of serving as an Excuse, was the means of ruining her; for the Conspirators immediately set about it, and in a small time got both his former Engagements made entirely void, and declared so by secular Judges appointed for that purpose. When this was done, they went with

BOTHWELL

BOTHWELL to her, claiming what she had said as a Promise. The Queen was now at her Wit's end; but to stop his mouth for the present, created him Earl of ORKNEY. This every body look'd on, as the first step to his mounting the Throne, and soon after, taking the Advantage of this Suggestion, a Contract of Marriage was drawn up, to which they either compell'd, or persuaded most of the Nobility to set their hands, in token of Approbation. The Queen now finding herself outreach'd, knew not what to have recourse to; but to defer at least what she was unwilling shou'd ever come to pass, she tells them she cou'd not consent to hurry up an Affair of so much Importance, but that she must attend an Answer from the GUISES her Uncles, whose Advice she had entreated. BOTHWELL, and those who seconded him in this Undertaking, perceiving the Queen's Inclinations, and that there was little to be hoped for from Submission, resolv'd to try contrary Measures. Therefore, having consulted among themselves; one day as the Queen was returning from *Sterling*, where she had been to visit the young Prince, BOTHWELL, accompany'd by a great Number of Horsemen, seiz'd on the Queen, and carried

her to the Castle of *Dunbar*. This unexpected Insolence flung her into the utmost Rage, she knew not which was greatest, the Assurance of BOTHWELL in committing an Action against his Queen, which was an unpardonable Crime, if offer'd to a private Person; or her own Unhappiness, in not being able to find out a Remedy for this Disaster. After he had allow'd her some Time for venting her just Grief, he came, and throwing himself at her Feet, conjured her to pardon what he had done; he added, that seeing neither his Tears, nor Prayers, nor the Interest of his Friends, nor the Advice of the Nobles cou'd prevail any thing on her in his favour, he had resolv'd on that Method, which nothing but the most violent Passion cou'd have compell'd him to make use of, and that if she imagin'd herself in any danger of any future Violence, he begg'd she wou'd that moment ease herself of it, by taking away his Life, which he then offer'd her the means to do, by drawing a Dagger, and presenting her with the Handle.—— He was too well acquainted with the Mildness of the Queen's Nature, to apprehend any Danger from the Present he made her——This Behaviour disarm'd her of great Part of the Indignation she had

had conceiv'd against him, which he easily perceiving, resumed his Discourse, telling her, that if she wou'd condescend to countenance his Addresses, as she had done the Lord DARLY's, who was her Subject as well as himself, she shou'd be certain of having a Man, who wou'd spill every Drop of his Blood to make her absolute in a Kingdom, wherein her Power was limited by rebellious Subjects; and that it wou'd be easier for him to do so, because he had the Favour of all the Nobility, which HENRY never cou'd obtain. And at the same time to convince her of the Truth of what he spoke, he pluck'd out the Contract of Marriage, sign'd by all the Chief of the *Nobles*. The Queen, who had been excessively surprized at BOTHWELL's manner of proceeding, was infinitely more so, when she saw those very Hands to it, which she expected wou'd soon be arm'd in her Defence, and punish his Insolence. Not knowing what to do in this Extremity, she told him, that since the States of the Kingdom were bent upon it, she wou'd not refuse what they desired; but said, she expected he shou'd set her at liberty, if it were only for his sake, that what she did might not look more like Compulsion than Free-will.—To this he willingly

lingly consented, and assured her she shou'd return to *Edinburgh* in a few days. In the mean time, he gave notice to the Conspirators to be ready with good Forces the Day he shou'd bring her back, which they obey'd him in; and this unhappy Queen, tho' she had chang'd Place, did not find her Condition in the least alter'd——she saw herself a Prisoner in the Capital City of her Kingdom, and that all the Nobility had combined to ruin her Honour.——The Bishop of *Orkney* having proved, that the two former Marriages of BOTHWELL were lawfully annull'd, she was forced to give way to a Violence, which she cou'd by no means avoid.——The Banns were publish'd at low Mass, and the Nuptials celebrated without any Magnificence. Even the *French* Ambassador refused to be present, tho' BOTHWELL earnestly begg'd him to it. But short were the Joys this *Hymen* brought, scarce was a Month pass'd over, when the Malecontents began to fill the Town with Libels accusing BOTHWELL of the King's Murder, of seizing the Queen, and of an Intention of making away with the young Prince, as he had done with his Father. Hereupon a great Number of People took Arms, with the Earl of MORTON at their

their head, in order, as they pretended, to rescue the Queen from the Tyranny of BOTHWELL, and the Miseries of a forc'd Marriage.

ON the other side, BOTHWELL, who wanted not Courage, back'd by the Queen's Authority, rais'd an Army, and took the Field with a much greater Power than the Rebels had. Tho' it was easy for him to have prov'd, that MORTON, and the chief of those who now oppos'd him, had an equal share with himself in the Murder of the King; yet knowing how hateful such a Declaration would make him to the Queen, who still believ'd him innocent, he forbore it, and resolv'd to have recourse only to open Force, to revenge himself of those Traitors. 'Tis very probable, that had they come to Blows, as they were pretty near it, near *Musselborough*, where the two Armies met, the Queen's Party would have had the better, she commanding them in Person: but the Conspirators would not trust to the Event of a Battel, but betook themselves to their old Refuge, Cunning. After they had a long time cry'd out, they meant no hurt to the Queen, whose faithful Subjects they were, but only to BOTHWELL, the Murderer of their King; they

they sent to her the Laird of GRANGE, a Person who they knew she had been used much to confide in, humbly to beseech her, that she would not protect so execrable and infamous a Villain, that had destroy'd her Husband, dishonour'd herself, and aim'd at the ruin of her Son, Some say, that he produced some Papers, which, with other Reasons he had given her since his Marriage, made her fearful he was in reality concern'd in that horrid Act; which shocking her gentle Soul with the most terrible Alarm, she resolv'd, let what would be the consequence, never more to lie by a Man, who 'twas not impossible but might have been guilty of what he was accused—— She could not look on him without detestation; so deep an Impression had what she lately heard made on her, that he never came into her Presence, but she imagin'd she beheld him stain'd with her Husband's Blood: and, unable to sustain the dreadful Idea, she bid him be gone, and never more appear before her, till he could find means to clear himself more fully than yet he had done, of the monstrous Action laid to his charge—— He fully obey'd, and withdrew from the Army, meditating on Measures which shall be hereafter related,

AFTER his Departure, the Laird of GRANGE, who acted sincerely in this Affair, being ignorant that those who sent him, only made use of him as a Cloak to cover their pernicious Designs, told the Queen, if she would go over to their Army, she would find every one ready to receive her, and that she would by that Confidence entirely re-establish the Tranquillity of the Nation without Bloodshed. The wisest of her Friends advised her openly against it, telling her that she had already experienced the Perfidiousness of these Nobles too feelingly, to trust them again, especially when she had it in her power to punish them for all their former Treasons; and that if she pleased to give the word, they would immediately fall on them, and doubted not to bring the chief of the rebellious Faction bound before her. This was Counsel which one would think she should not have rejected: But alas! this unfortunate Princess had not the power of taking it; her ill Genius made her blind to this only Opportunity Fortune ever presented her with, of saving herself. The Mildness of her Disposition went in concert with the Malice of her Enemies, and both together render'd her the most miserable of all

all that ever wore a Crown——She
 cou'd not endure the thoughts of spilling
 the Blood even of those who had not e-
 nough in their Veins to recompence for
 the Treasons they had been guilty of to
 her. In short, flattering herself that her
 Presence among them wou'd awe those
 who were not yet disposed to Loyalty,
 and her Mercy win them to Repentance,
 she disbanded her faithful Troops, and,
 attended only by a few select Friends,
 went over to the Army ; where she was
 no sooner arriv'd, than these Traitors
 seiz'd on her Person, committing her to
 a strong Guard of their own chusing, like
 a Prisoner of War. They now exulted
 with a malicious Joy, that they had ob-
 tain'd the utmost of their Desires, the
 Queen wholly defenceless in their hands,
 and BOTHWELL disobliged and fled, in
 whose power alone it was, to clear her of
 the Accusations they intended to lay to
 her charge. After they had presented
 her with two Standards, on which were
 painted the King murder'd, with his little
 Son at his feet, holding up his Hands,
 as crying to Heaven for Vengeance ;
 they led her in a kind of Triumph to
Edinburgh, where she appear'd so co-
 ver'd with Dust and Tears, that her Face
 was hardly to be known ; they lodg'd
 her

(III)

her not in the Palace, which they had plunder'd, but in the House where her Husband was kill'd, it being since the Fire rebuilt : where having pass'd the Night, without suffering any of her Maids, or Ladies of Honour, to come near her, they set her the next morning on an ugly ill-favour'd Horse, that they met with by chance in the Fields; and in this miserable Equipage conducted her to the Castle of *Loch-Levin*, which at that time was in the possession of the Mother of the Earl of *Murray*. The Hatred this Woman bore her, made her gladly undertake the Charge of using her ill, according to the Rebels desire. — She offer'd her a thousand Indignities, telling her, among other things, that she was but a Mock Queen; that she had usurp'd the Crown from her Son the Earl of MURRAY, who, she said, was in reality the right Heir, boasting that she had been the lawful Wife of JAMES the Fifth.

MORTON, and the rest of the Traitors, had pitch'd on this Castle for the Queen's Prison, because it was situated in the middle of a Lake six Miles round; whereby she was entirely deprived of seeing any one but those that be-

belong'd to them, which they plainly show'd they resolv'd she shou'd not, by their refusing admittance to the *French Ambassador*, when he came, and most earnestly requested it. In short, there is no better way of representing the Hardships she endur'd, than by inserting two Letters, which she found means to write to CATHERINE DE MEDICIS: The first contain'd the following Lines.

M A D A M,

I Receiv'd the Letter you were pleas'd to comfort me with in my miserable Condition; the Bearer was clapt into Prison, where he still continues: judge by that, of the Inhumanity of my cruel Jailors——I most humbly thank you for the promise you make of helping me in this Distress——My wretched State puts it out of my power to offer you any thing in return, but my good Wishes, which you have always had——I have had the utmost difficulty to send this Messenger to acquaint you with the Truth of my Misfortunes, and humbly to beseech you, that you will take compassion of me——I trust in God, that Report which my Enemies are continually persecuting me with, is fabulous, that one of the Articles of the Treaty
of

of Peace the King your Son has made with his rebellious Subjects, is, that he shall forsake my Interests, and that the Prince of Condee, and the Admiral will come to no Agreement on any other Terms. I cannot give credit to Tidings so terrible without flinging myself into the utmost Despair—Next to Heaven I rely intirely on you, and hope you will not in this dreadful Calamity abandon me—Believe what this Bearer shall inform you, as tho' it were myself that spoke it, for I have Time to write no more, but only pray to God to keep you in his holy Protection, safe from the Miseries, which Treason brings, and which is the Portion at present of

Your unhappy, but ever
obedient Daughter

From my Prison, the
last Day of March,

M. R.

The Superscription was, *To Madam
the Queen of France, my Mother-in-
law.*

The other was in these Terms!

MADAM,

I Write to you at the same time, that I write to the King your Son; by the same Bearer, I beseech you both to have pity on me——I am now fully convinced it must be by Force alone I can be deliver'd; if you send never so few Troops to countenance the matter, I am certain great Numbers of my Subjects will rise to join them, but without that, they are over-aw'd by the Power of the Rebels, and dare attempt nothing of themselves——The Miseries I endure are more than I once believ'd was in the power of mortal Sufferance to sustain, and live; give credit to this Messenger, who can inform you all; I have no Opportunity to write, but while my Failors are at dinner—have compassion on my wretched Condition, I conjure you, and may God pour on you all the Blessings you can wish: I am

Your ever dutiful, tho' most
wretched and afflicted Daughter,
M. R.

The Superscription the same as the foregoing.

This

THIS Stile will seem very extraordinary to those, who consider it was a Queen that wrote; a Queen, who not only once wore the first Crown in *Europe*, but was also Heir of three Kingdoms: Yet so far were the Hardships, which obliged her to write in a Stile so unworthy of her Rank, from mollifying the Hearts of those Barbarians, who inflicted them, that they were daily holding Consultations what to do with her. There were some so cruel as to propose strangling her at her Bed-posts, thereby to make the World believe she had done it herself, to avoid receiving her Punishment at the Hands of the common Executioner, when she found her Crimes were discover'd. But others, more politick, were for doing nothing till MURRAY came: for tho' he had been the first Author and Contriver of all that had been done; yet, as Traitors commonly distrust one another, they were fearful, that if the Queen were made away before he came, he wou'd pretend a Dislike of it, and by throwing the Odium all on them, engross the whole Power into his own hands. He was then in *France*, where the King and Queen, and the GUISES caress'd him very much, in order to bind him to Queen

MARY'S Interests; not imagining, that he was, at that very time, treating with the Admiral about getting the Crown in this Confusion of Affairs.

WHILE these things were in agitation, MURRAY receiv'd advice of all that was doing in *Scotland*, by means of the *English* Ambassador there, to whom Queen ELIZABETH had sent an Express, to bid MURRAY return to *Scotland* as soon as possible; but he would not consent to it, till he heard news of the Queen's Death, which he expected would soon be brought him. But in this he deceiv'd himself; MORTON, and the others of the Faction, were not to be overreach'd this way: however, to do something worthy of the great Task of Mischief they had undertaken—they got ready an Instrument, wherein the Queen was to resign the Crown to her young Son, under MURRAY'S Regency; but when they brought it to her, in order for her signing it, she resolutely answer'd, that she would not do it; and that holding her Life and Crown together, she would not part with the one without the other. Queen ELIZABETH hearing of this Proceeding, sent an Ambassador extraordinary, to advise her as a Friend to
sign

sign that Instrument, which as she was not at liberty, would stand for nothing, and could no way prejudice her; but if she continu'd obstinate in her refusal, it might perhaps endanger her Life. Presently after she had receiv'd this Message, the Lord LINDSAY, one of the most brutal Men of his Time, enter'd her Chamber, and, without any regard to that Respect due from a Subject to his Sovereign, pluck'd the Paper out of his Pocket, and told her if she did not that instant sign it, they would take measures to compel her to it. It was in vain that she remonstrated to him, that the Nobility had no power to oblige her to this Resignation; that MURRAY'S Aim was to get possession of the Throne, and that her Son, being but a Child, could not expect very humane Treatment from those who had prov'd themselves such cruel Enemies to his Mother——LINDSAY would not suffer her to make an end of what she was about to say; but fiercely interrupting her, swore, if she would consent no other way, she should sign it with her Blood. Tho' her Courage and Constancy had hitherto been very great, yet the Fear of Death, being now augmented by that of dying before she had justify'd herself of those Crimes laid to her

charge, made her sign it, without so much as looking to see what was allow'd her for a Maintenance: She only desir'd to have a hearing before the States of the Kingdom, protesting that she would submit to any Punishment, if they found her guilty of the Death of her Husband: But to this Request they gave no answer at present; overjoy'd that they had compass'd their Intents, they went immediately to *Sterling*, where the young Prince then was, and making use of his Innocence to protect their Crime, they crown'd him King, with a design to deprive him of Dignity and Life at once.

MURRAY being now inform'd that all things went according to his wish, leaves *France*, where he was told it would not be safe for him to continue long, by reason the Archbishop of *Glasgow* had given them information, that he was secretly the greatest Enemy the Queen of *Scotland* had, and had been the prime Author of all the Misfortunes she had suffer'd; and that, whatever Promises he made to their Majesties, he made quite different ones to *COLIGNY*. He pass'd thro' *England*, where he treated with Queen *ELIZABETH*, who promis'd him the utmost Assistance to carry on his Designs,

signs, which he pretended to her were only to establish Protestantism on a more sure Foundation than it had yet been in *Scotland*.

ON his arrival in that Country, which might blush to have given birth to so notorious a Deceiver, he summon'd the States of the Kingdom together, and got the Act of Resignation ratify'd; tho' he had most solemnly promis'd the GUISES to restore her to her Authority, and had receiv'd considerable Presents from them to that end.

AFTER this Declaration of the States, tho' the Earl of MURRAY was absolute Master of all, yet, nevertheless, as Ambition is never satisfied, he contented not himself with knowing that he was King in effect; there wanted also the Title, to make him perfectly happy. He therefore caus'd it to be insinuated to the People, that his Mother had been the lawful Wife of JAMES the Fifth, which, as he said, might be seen in the Episcopal Court of *St. Andrews*; the Consummation which follow'd, made the Marriage valid. But this not answering his Ends; because, if it had been true, it must have follow'd of course, that not

only MARY of the House of GUISE must have been his *Concubine*, but likewise the Lady MAGDALENE also, who was JAMES the Fifth's first Wife; he had recourse to another Method to accomplish his Design. He spread abroad a Rumpour by his Agents, that the young King was not legitimate, not being the Son of HENRY DARLY, but of DAVID RIZO; that therefore they were not bound to acknowledge him, tho' he had been crown'd. But far from doing himself any good by this Project, he open'd the Eyes of a Number of Lords, and especially the HAMILTONS, to see the miserable State, to which the Queen was reduced, and the Insolence of this Bastard,

THESE Nobles and Gentlemen, who at length resumed their Loyalty, after trying several ways, which had proved ineffectual, her Beauty at last accomplish'd what all their Wits in vain had aim'd at. GEORGE DOUGLAS, the youngest of MURRAY'S Mother's Sons, living with her in the same Castle where the Queen was confined, visited her often, led at first only by Compassion, to endeavour to divert the melancholy Hours, she pass'd in that dismal State; but the Charms of this beautiful Queen were not such

such as cou'd be safely gazed on, scarce cou'd the most experienc'd and preposess'd Bosom refuse Entrance to so lovely an Idea; much less a Heart unguarded, tender, and susceptible as was his.——

He no sooner entertain'd a Passion for her, than he began to revolve in his Mind, if there were not a Possibility of setting her at liberty; and as there is nothing so transporting to him, who is really a Lover, as the means of serving the Object of his Affection, he suffer'd no Rest to take Possession of his Faculties, till he had found the happy Secret: He first by great Bribes won those of her Guard to countenance his Designs, and by degrees brought over to his side his Nephew WILLIAM DOUGLAS, a Youth of about 16 Years of Age; then gave notice to the HAMILTONS, and a few others, who he knew were well dispos'd toward her, to be ready with about 3 or 400 Horse at a little distance from the Lake on a particular Day, which he appointed, and set apart for the Execution of the Scheme he had laid.——When every thing was ready, WILLIAM DOUGLAS, with admirable dexterity, stole the Keys of the Apartment where the Queen was lodg'd from his Mother as she sat at dinner; after which, his Uncle GEORGE made

YARRUM gained the Victory: but the who

made fast the Door of the Room, and calling those of the Guard, who were of the Party, to their assistance, they went out at a little Gate, which open'd on a Lake, where a Boat being ready, they put the Queen with those two Maids of Honour, who had been allow'd to attend her, into it; where accompanying her themselves, they got safe on the other side, before the Mother, or other Brothers, cou'd do any thing to prevent them. One thing was pretty remarkable in their Flight, which was, that one of the Maids of Honour, having by some accident in the Hurry been left in the Chamber, and not able to open the Gate, which they had lock'd on the outside, she threw herself out of the Window without receiving the least Hurt or Bruise, tho' it was a very great Height from the Ground.

AS soon as the Queen, and her little Company were landed, they were receiv'd by the Horsemen they expected, and conducted by them to HAMILTON, which is about four Leagues from *Glasgow*, where MURRAY at that time was. The Number of People that flock'd to her from all Parts, when they heard of her Escape, so strengthen'd her Forces, that the Earl of
MURRAY

MURRAY had Thoughts of leaving *Glasgow*, and going to *Sterling* to the young Prince, in hope thereby to obtain better Terms of the Queen. On the other hand, she having call'd a Council on her further Proceedings, they all advise her to go to *Dunbritton*, which was look'd on as an impregnable Place, and tarry there till such time as the Troops, which had ever preserv'd their Loyalty towards her, shou'd be gather'd together. But this unhappy Princess, who was never without a Traitor about her, had now one in her Council, who gave notice to the Earl of MURRAY, and at the same time desired he wou'd lead his Forces to a certain Place, thro' which the Queen was obliged to pass in her way to *Dunbritton*, and warning him, if they came to a Battle, to bend the whole Strength of his Forces against the Van-Guard, telling him, that he wou'd take care of the rest.

ALL this happen'd according to their Desire——The Queen set forward on her Journey, MURRAY with a considerable Body met, and attack'd her Forces at the Place appointed; the Van-Guard made a stout Resistance, and 'tis not to be doubted, but if the others had fought with the same Spirit and Resolution, she wou'd have gain'd the Victory: but those
who

who were really Royalists, being oppress'd by Numbers, and not well seconded by the others, were almost all cut to pieces, on which the rest fled.

FORTY-SEVEN Noblemen of the House of HAMILTON signalized their Loyalty by gloriously losing their Lives in defence of their Queen; those who were taken alive, were bound, and fetter'd like Villains, and treated with the utmost Indignities. As to the Queen, she no sooner saw the Battle lost, than she withdrew herself with all the expedition she cou'd towards the Borders of her Kingdom next *England*, without making any stop till she came to *Dundrenon*, where she advised with the few Followers she had left, what was best to be done. It was the Opinion of several, that it was best for her to remain where she was, till she cou'd receive Assistance, either from those of her Subjects, whose Faith yet continu'd uncorrupted, or from some foreign Power; others thought that Place wou'd afford her but small Defence in case the Rebels shou'd pursue her there, and wou'd have had her retire to one of greater Strength: some thought neither of these Expedients promis'd any Security, and perswaded her to go directly to *France*;

France; reminding her, that the Rank she had bore there, the Power and Interest of her Uncles the GUISES, and the Reputation that King had, of affording a Refuge for all distress'd Princes, gave her no room to question, but she wou'd be kindly receiv'd. But as if it was not enough that *Fortune* had always been against her, but that she must also *herself* push on her own Ruin, she had not the Power of listening to this Advice, which in all probability might have preserv'd her from the Miseries and untimely Death she after met with. She answer'd therefore the several Advices were given her in this manner: That as touching the two first, she cou'd not think herself safe any where in her own Kingdom, till she had found means to subdue it by Force, having so often experienced the Treachery of the People; and as for the other, she cou'd not condescend to appear as a Fugitive in *France*, whose Crown she had once wore with so much Splendor; and told them, that just before her escape she had receiv'd Letters from Queen ELIZABETH, promising her the Continuance of Friendship, which made her think, as her case now was, *England* the most proper Place for her Retirement. There were few of this Opinion beside herself;

herself; but all that the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, or the rest of them could alledge to dissuade her, was in vain: and tho', when obstinately bent to go, she was passing the Ford for that purpose, he plung'd into the Water after her, and, catching hold of her Horse's Bridle, conjured her to turn back; Fate and her ill Genius stop'd her Ears, and on she hasten'd to Destruction and irremediable Ruin.

HOW mournful soever the Adventures of this Queen, which we have already related, may appear, they may be accounted fortunate, when consider'd in competition with those that follow: we shall now see her striving with unsurmountable Difficulties, defending her Reputation against *Scotland*, and her Life against *England*.—We shall find her nearest Kindred estranged from their own Blood, and the richest Kingdom in the World refusing Sustainance to a Princess, whom once with so much Joy they look'd on as their Queen.

AS soon as she had left the Borders of *Scotland*, she dispatched a Gentleman to Queen ELIZABETH, with a Mark of Friendship she had receiv'd from her; it was a Diamond which she sent in exchange

change of one the Queen of Scots had presented to her, each agreeing to assist the other on all occasions whatsoever, on sight of either of these Tokens. Altho' BUCHANAN wrote an Epigram on that which Queen MARY sent, yet he makes no mention of it in History; because his Aim being to clear ELIZABETH, he wou'd not discover her Breach of Promise, by relating this Particular. On returning the Jewel, she wrote with it this Letter to Queen ELIZABETH.

YOU are not ignorant, my dearest Sister, of great part of my Misfortunes; but these which induce me to write at present, have happen'd too late yet to have reach'd your ear——I must therefore acquaint you as briefly as I can, that some of my Subjects whom I most confided in, and had rais'd to the highest pitch of Honour, have taken up arms against me, and treated me with the utmost Indignities——By unexpected Means, the Almighty Disposer of all things deliver'd me from the cruel Imprisonment I lay under; but have since lost a Battel, in which most of those who preserv'd their Integrity, fell before my eyes——I am now forc'd out of my Kingdom, and driven to such Straits, that,

that, next to God, I have no hope but in your Goodness—I beseech you therefore, my dear Sister, that I may be conducted to your Presence, that I may acquaint you with all my Affairs. In the mean time, I beseech God to grant you all heavenly Benedictions, and to me Patience and Consolation; which last I hope, and pray, to obtain, by your means—To remind you of the Reasons I have to depend on England, I send back to its Queen this Token of her promis'd Friendship and Assistance.

Your Affectionate
Sister,

From Dundrenon, the
7th Day of July.

M. R.

AFTER she had left Dundrenon, she came to Wirkinton, from thence to Cockermouth, then to Carlisle, in the Road to London; where she doubted not but to see ELIZABETH: but the first shock she met with, was a Messenger from that Queen, to put a stop to her coming any farther. He told her, that his Royal Mistress intended neither to be the Judge nor the Refuge of her Innocence, till it had been clear'd by those
more

more proper to decide the matter: He added also, that his Queen desired she would not take it as a proof of Unkindness, that she refused to see her, while she continu'd under Imputations so unworthy of her Rank and Virtue, as those which her Subjects, and indeed the whole World, had branded her with. *But* any one judge how terrible this Reception must be to a Princess, whose Spirit was little able to brook Reproof, and who knew herself guilty of no other Crime than Misfortune; but she had scarce Time, either to reflect on, or answer what the Messenger said, before the Lord Scroop, with a Party of the Queen's Guards, appear'd with an order to carry her to *Bolton*: It was now plain, that instead of a *Guest*, she was become a *Prisoner in England*; nor was it in her power in the first gust of her Indignation to forbear venting it in these, or the like Terms: That she held her Crown from God alone, and could be judg'd by no other — that she expected no Treatment so injurious — and that it was both inhospitable and unjust, to use her as an Enemy, who came as a Friend. The Lord Scroop endeavour'd to pacify her as much as possible, by telling her,

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that

that the gracious Queen did nothing, but thro' Zeal to serve her, that it was necessary she shou'd be guarded somewhere, there being great Numbers of her Subjects in *England*, who might possibly attempt some Violence; and that the Place she was going to, was extremely pleasant, and afforded every thing proper for her Entertainment. It was little in the power of such Compliments to make her satisfy'd with her Condition; but while he was speaking them, she had Opportunity to reflect, that there was no Remedy but patient Sufferance; and that since she must be obliged to such Terms as Queen ELIZABETH shou'd think proper, it wou'd be best for her to acknowledge her for a Judge, lest she shou'd have her for an *Accuser*: And in a few days submitted herself so far as to write her word, that she was very glad she wou'd condescend to be an Arbitrator between her and her Subjects, being very well assured her Innocence wou'd appear so plain, that she wou'd take on her the Title and Business of a Protectress; but she humbly beseech'd her at the same time, that she would delegate no other in her room, alledging that a Queen cou'd stoop to be try'd before nothing less than a Queen, and that the Malice of her

her Enemies might bribe any other less impartial Judge. Queen ELIZABETH at first seem'd willing to agree to this, and gave an Answer full of Hope. By which this unfortunate Princess being again deceiv'd, broke the only measures, which cou'd be found to save her.

WHILE she was at *Bolton*, those Subjects, who had preserv'd their Allegiance were raising Forces on all sides; among others, the Earl of *Argyle* had already cross'd the River *Dinnone* with 3000 Men, and those of the HAMILTONS, who survived the Battle, waited with as many to join him at *Glasgow*, the Rendezvous of all the Troops. The Earls of CASSELS and MONTGOMERY, with all their Followers and Tenants, also added to the Number very considerably, so that MURRAY perceiving their Strength superior to his, flew for Refuge to Queen ELIZABETH, and told her, all he had hitherto done wou'd prove ineffectual for the Service of the Protestants, if she did not put a helping hand to the destroying this Machine, which wou'd else infallibly overturn all their lesser Projects. On this she sends immediately to *Bolton*, representing to the Queen of *Scots* how fatal such a War wou'd be to

her Subjects, and that it was altogether unnecessary, since she had promis'd on the Word of a Queen she wou'd restore her to her Kingdom by ways less hazardous and bloody: Adding, that if she refused this Advice, it wou'd be a plain Proof against her, that she delighted in Acts of Cruelty. That poor Princess, whose Soul was entirely the Reverse, and prefer'd Peace to every thing but Honour, and believing so great a Queen as ELIZABETH wou'd not falsify the Promise she had made, was willing to convince her, that she wholly rely'd upon her, and sent with all possible Expedition to those Lords, who had taken Arms for her, to disband their Forces, and return each to their respective homes, for that she wou'd not resume the Throne of *Scotland*, till gentle means shou'd lead her to it. 'Twas with a Grief unspeakable, those Nobles perceiv'd their Queen thus blind to the Impositions put upon her, and aiding to her own Destruction; however, as it was in her Name they had levy'd those Forces, on her orders they were obliged to disband them: which they had no sooner done, than MURRAY put in practice an Act of the greatest Cruelty, that ever was known, the Name of Regent giving him Authority to try or to condemn

condemn. He accused them of Treason against JAMES the Sixth, and, in the Son's Name, put those who wou'd have preserv'd the Mother, either to Death, or drove them to seek Shelter in other less hospitable Nations, confiscating their Estates for the Use of the King, that was in effect himself. It gave him however a terrible Shock, that some of those, whose Fate it was to lose their Lives by the Executioner, accused him on the Scaffold with their dying Breaths of being the Author and Contriver of the late King's Murder; many there were who believ'd it, and the Death of so many of the Nobility made him grow so odious to the common People, that he durst not stir abroad without a Guard of 100 Men well arm'd: But having still the Authority in his own hands, he was above fearing any publick Attempt against him.

THE Hope of Promotion, or Fear of offending him, who had so much the Power to raise or ruin, got him a Party that prevail'd on the States of the Kingdom to name Deputies for prosecuting Queen MARY; those appointed for this purpose were the Earl of MORTON, the Bishop of ORKNEY, the Commandator of DUMFERLIN, Baron LINDSAY,

JAMES MAC-GILLY, and HENRY BALNAW, who every one of them had been the Judges, that had acquitted BORTHWELL of the King's Murder, when accused of it by the Queen. They chose for their Advocate GEORGE BUCHANAN, who having been of twenty Employments, the first of which was a *Franciscan* Fryar, crown'd all by accusing her, who had saved him, when he was going to be burn'd for Heresy. These insolent Men were not ashamed to take the Titles of Deputies from King JAMES the Sixth, and make the Innocent Child prosecute the Mother even unto Death. On the other side, those that appear'd in her Defence, were the Bishop of Ross, WILLIAM Lord LEVINGSTONE, ROBERT Baron of BOYD, GAWIN Commandator of KILVININ, JOHN GORDON, and JAMES COCKBURN, whose Names will be as famous to Posterity for their Truth and Loyalty, as the other infamous for Treachery and Ingratitude,

IN the mean time, MARY, who had all along flatter'd herself with the Hope of having Queen ELIZABETH herself in presence Judge of the Affair, found she had been deceiv'd; but her Condition admitting of no Relief by complaining, she

was

was obliged to wear a show of Contentment. It was thought by most People, that Queen ELIZABETH did this, lest the Innocence of MARY should appear too plain for her to have any longer a pretence for detaining in Prison a Sovereign Queen, and one who was undoubted Heir to the two Kingdoms herself was in Possession of; besides the Number of Letters under her Hand to Queen MARY, assuring her of all Kindness, would have made her breach of Promise appear too plain. Giving her Reasons therefore for this Proceeding, she appointed Commissioners in her place, who were, THOMAS Duke of *Norfolk*, THOMAS Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir RALPH SADLER, to hear and examine this Matter at *York*. While this was doing, the Earl of MURRAY distrusting either the Capacity, or fearing the Remorse of those pretended Deputies of the King, and willing to have the whole Management himself of this decisive Blow, comes over, and went with the Commissioners to *York*, under pretence of giving Queen ELIZABETH an Account of what he had done in *Scotland*.

BUT it was not the impending Tryal of this Queen, that took up the Thoughts

of all the great Men at Court. The Flight of BORNWELL and the Rumour that the Queen had been only compell'd to marry him, made her be look'd on as a Widow. The Earl of LEICESTER, therefore, whom Queen ELIZABETH had formerly flattered with the hope of marrying her, began to form new Desires in his Mind; and thinking that her Misfortunes, and the Need she stood in of that Queen's Assistance, whom he imagined he could prevail on, would bring her to consent to the Design he had of becoming her Husband, made him express a Compassion for her Condition: which Queen ELIZABETH taking notice of, conceiv'd a secret Indignation towards him, which afterwards broke out in a manner he did not expect.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, who was the wisest and most politick Woman of her Time, related as a great Secret the Suspicion she had of LEICESTER's Designs to the Duke of NORFOLK; and knowing he hated him, and was jealous of his Power, imagined that the fear of seeing him Husband to the Queen of Scots, and consequently Heir to the Crown of England, would induce him to put an end to his Hopes, by finding her guilty: she there-

therefore made him President of the Tryal. But here she was once out in her Measures: the Duke, who was Lord-Lieutenant of that part of the Country which lies towards *Scotland*, happening to be there when she came into *England*; had been to compliment her: the Sight of her produced Effects which Queen ELIZABETH little thought of; he became a passionate Adorer of her Charms, and he rejoiced to have the Power of acquitting her, by that Authority which was given him to condemn her.

GOING therefore with the other Commissioners, the Queen of *Scotland's* Deputies gave in their Defence in Writing; alledging, that the Earl of MORTON and the other factious Nobles had rais'd an Army against the Queen, had thrust her into Prison, and treated her most unworthily; that after that, MURRAY had seiz'd on the Kingdom, and under pretence of acting for the young King, had made himself absolute Master of all. Some days after the pretended Deputies of the other side gave in a Libel, cramb'd with a thousand Aspersions against the Queen's Honour; they charged her with being privy to the Murder of the King her Husband acted by BOTHWELL, her secret Consent to his

his seizing her, and afterwards marrying him, not by Compulsion, as they said she now pretended, but by free Choice. These they alledged were the Reasons for their taking Arms, that they might punish the Murderers of their King, and preserve the young Prince, whose Life was in continual Danger. They concluded with drawing this Inference, that since the Queen had resigned the Crown in favour of her Son, who had been invested with all the Regal Solemnities under the Regency of MURRAY, and that the Earl had restored every thing to good Order, and the Kingdom enjoy'd a perfect Tranquility, it was necessary, if they would have it continue so, that the Queen should come into it no more, and her Act of Resignation be confirm'd and declared valid.

ALL this being plainly refuted by the Queen's Deputies, who made manifestly appear, that it was they who had set on BOTHWELL to kill the King, and afterwards obliged the Queen by force to marry him; the Malice and Perjury of these Traitors appeared too plainly, for any disinterested Person to make a doubt which side they ought to favour. The Duke of NORFOLK having now, to his
 Passion,

Passion for the Queen, join'd a certain Knowledge of her Innocence, thought himself by Honour as well as by Love, obliged to do her all the Service he could in this Affair——The Deputies having, as we said before, cast several Aspersions on the Queen, and concluded with the Act of Resignation, the Duke required them to produce the Papers, which made good these Accusations, and to make it appear that they had a Power to use this Violence against their Sovereign. As they could not in reality bring any Proofs of what they said, but such as might have been easily refuted, the Earl of MURRAY taking notice that the Duke made that Demand, and insisted on an Answer to it, with an Air and Manner, as if he were assured of her Innocence, presently imagined there was some powerful Motive made him behave in that fashion. Nothing could seem more strange to him, than that a Courtier should sacrifice his Fortune for the safety of a Stranger; he could not tell how to think he could be sway'd more by his Conscience, than his Interest, for he very well knew the Duke was not unacquainted with the Will of the Queen, and that he was not chosen President with a design he should act in this manner

manner. — After some time of Consideration, he at last remembered the Duke had seen the Queen of Scots, and was then no longer at a loss for the Motive which induced him to take her part; therefore to stop his farther Proceeding, and get other Judges, or at least another President; he flatly deny'd to produce any Papers, unless the Commissioners would promise in Queen ELIZABETH's Name to abandon *Mary* entirely if found guilty, and take into her Protection the young King. This Cavil was ridiculous enough, but if it had been much more so, it would have answered his End; for the Judges having no power to make any such Promise, Messengers were sent to the Queen to know her Mind in this Affair: MURRAY found a Pretence to accompany them; and by relating the Behaviour of the Duke, easily induced her to appoint other Commissioners immediately: they were the Chancellor BACON, the Earl of LEICESTER, Earl of ARUNDEL, and the Lord CLINTON, High Admiral of the Kingdom. MURRAY produced before them a great many Love-Letters, and Verses which were infamous, which they pretended the Queen had written to BOTHWELL, and after that three several Con-

Contracts of Marriage made by her with the said BOTHWELL, one of them in King HENRY'S Life time, another immediately after his Death, and the third a few days before he seiz'd her; and several other such things, all the Inventions of BUCHANAN. But he was soon answered by the Queen's Deputies, they prov'd that MURRAY had often counterfeited the Queen's Hand-writing, and that this, corroborated by several Contradictions in their Accusations, sufficiently clear'd the Queen of all they alledged against her. MURRAY finding this would not do, has Recourse to another Method: Having link'd in a strong Friendship with the Earl of LEICESTER, the Queen of *England's* Chief Favourite at that time, he told him he knew that the Queen's Inclinations were for taking off MARY at any rate, and that he knew a way to bring it about, if he would join in the Intent: and at the same time inform'd him of the Discovery he had made of the Duke of NORFOLK's Passion for her. The Earl, whose Ambition very much exceeded his Love, finding there was no Hopes that himself should succeed, was over-joy'd to have it in his power to ruin the Duke, whose Greatness he thought eclips'd his, and be reveng'd at the same time on the Queen,

Queen, who had slighted his Addressee when offered her by Queen ELIZABETH: He therefore promised the Earl of MURRAY to do all he desired of him. This subtle Traitor having thus secured the Earl of LEICESTER's Interest, one day accosts the Duke; and after some introductory Discourses on trifling Affairs, tells him, he thought the only way for the Queen of Scots to remedy her Misfortunes, would be to marry with some English Nobleman, whose Wealth might be a Pledge to Queen ELIZABETH, that she should not undertake any thing to her prejudice: and to cover his Design the better, he told him, that in his opinion the Earl of LEICESTER was the fittest Man for this Purpose, for that being so much the Favourite of Queen ELIZABETH, she would rejoice to see him on a Throne, and rule in a Place which gave her great Uneasiness. He went so far, as to entreat the Duke to assist this Affair, which he said was the only means to restore Peace to Scotland, which had so long been in confusion.

THE Duke of NORFOLK, whose Love was by this subtle Traitor instigated by Jealousy, was too much hurried in

in his Mind to consider the Improbability there was that a Man who had so lately manifested his Hatred to the Queen, shou'd so suddenly change, as to endeavour to do her any sincere Service; and receiv'd this Discourse as a Man wou'd do, who is told the Woman he adores is going to be married to another—The Confusion of his Answers, the wild Disorder of his Looks and Gestures, sufficiently inform'd the observing MURRAY what pass'd within his Soul, and gave him liberty to prosecute his Design on him in this manner—I think, *said he*, that the Earl of LEICESTER wou'd make a Ruler extremely fit to reduce *Scotland* to Obedience, and a Husband such as the Queen might very well approve; yet I very much question, if she will consent to marry him, because having once refus'd him, she will think her Honour piqued to accept him at a time when it must appear as an Act compell'd by Necessity—Now, my Lord! *added he*, if you had any Inclinations that way, there cou'd be no objections on her side; because, in the first place, you were born in a Country, whose Laws forbid a Stranger to wear the Crown—In the next, your high Birth, and princely Qualifications wou'd not disgrace the
Dignity

Dignity—Your vast Estate also, and great Number of Friends, sets you above Fear even of Queen ELIZABETH herself—And lastly you have a Daughter much of the same Age with our young Prince, and for greater Security, to bind both Crowns for ever to you and your Posterity, these two might be join'd in Marriage—in fine, *contin'd he*, our Queen having first married a Child, then a Fool, and afterwards a Madman, she ought to marry once again, that she may say she had one Husband, who was a Man.

HERE ceas'd the Earl, nor indeed need he have said so much, to one so deeply infatuated by his Passion, as the Duke was: his Thanks were all the Answer he cou'd make, which testifying how much he was satisfy'd with the Proposal, left MURRAY no room to doubt, but that he shou'd carry his point.

HAVING made this first Step, the next was to procure the Queen's Consent to be aiding, according to Custom, to her own Ruin—He acquaints her by one MELVIN, that if she pleas'd to accept of his Service, a great English Nobleman had form'd a Scheme, which
would

wou'd infallibly restore her to the Throne of *Scotland*. But she had now too much Experience of the Artifices of this Traitor to fall immediately into the Snare; and knowing the Message came from him, and that her Answer wou'd be immediately reported, told MELVIN, that she wholly rely'd on her good Sister Queen ELIZABETH, and that she wou'd not be obliged to any of her Subjects for that Assistance, which she doubted not but to receive from her. This did not discourage the Earl, but finding the Bishop of Rosse was a Man in great Esteem with her, he thought it wou'd be an easy matter to impose on him, and thro' him on the Queen. One day therefore, when they were alone, he told him, that the only Reason he had appear'd so much against his Sister, was because he had believ'd her the Murderer of her Husband; but now being convinced of her Innocence, the Power of Blood again resum'd its Force, and there was nothing he wou'd not do to rescue her from that miserable Condition to which she was reduced; and that he had in part found the means of doing it, which was to marry the Duke of NORFOLK, to whom he had mention'd the thing, and found him very much dispos'd to it. The Bishop, who cou'd not think that the Duke wou'd join

in any thing to her prejudice, having espous'd her Cause in so open a manner, that Queen ELIZABETH said the Queen of *Scots* wou'd never want an Advocate as long as the Duke of NORFOLK liv'd, believ'd every thing MURRAY told him; and having himself sounded the Duke about it, made no scruple afterward to bring about the Reconciliation between the Earl of MURRAY and the Queen.

NEVERTHELESS it being convenient to have more Irons in the Fire to compleat the Ruin of this unhappy Queen, MURRAY, by his Agents, spreads abroad a Report, that she had convey'd her Title both to *England* and *Scotland* to HENRY DE VALOIS Duke of ANJOU, which Conveyance had been ratify'd at the Court of *Rome*.

QUEEN ELIZABETH not knowing whence these Rumours sprung, was very much troubled at it; and her Vexation increas'd, when she saw several Letters under the Queen of *Scots* own hand to some of the *Scotch* Nobility, complaining of her hard Usage, and telling them she expected Help by other means than the Queen of *England*. It was not in the power of this politick Queen to guess from

from what quarter this Assistance must arrive; she had nothing to fear from CHARLES the Ninth; he having lately sent an Ambassador to intreat she wou'd not intermeddle with the Affairs of *France*, and in return, he shou'd not with those of *Scotland*; and as to the Duke of ALVA, he had enough upon his hands in the *Netherlands*, to employ him for a long time.

WHILE ELIZABETH lay under these Apprehensions, which MURRAY had purposely thrown in her way, that he might free her from them to his own advantage, the Earl of LEICESTER, instructed by him, began to play his part, and to draw the Duke of NORFOLK in after such a manner, as he shou'd not easily get off again. THROGMORTON by his order went to the Duke, and told him as a great Secret, that knowing he had an Inclination for the Queen of *Scots*, he came to acquaint him that LEICESTER had the same; and that as there was all manner of likelihood his Favour with Queen ELIZABETH wou'd entitle him to the Prize, he had better give over all Thoughts of it, since it wou'd only encrease the Suspensions the Queen already had of him, and be of no service to his

Passion. Tho' the Duke was very much surprized at this Discourse; yet not knowing but THROGMORTON made it only to sift the matter out of him, he utterly deny'd that he had any such Design; and added moreover, that if the Earl had, he wish'd he might succeed in it, on condition Queen ELIZABETH gave her Consent, without which he wou'd advise him not to think of it. The Earl finding this wou'd not do, let some Days pass over, and then went to the Duke himself, and told him, that having had some Thoughts of marrying the Queen of Scots; but finding her averse to it, and hearing that he had some Inclinations that way, he came on purpose to assure him, that he had entirely given over his Prosecution; but on the contrary, wou'd do him what Service he cou'd in procuring the Consent of Queen ELIZABETH. The Duke believing he spoke sincerely, and that since himself had entertain'd Thoughts of it, there cou'd be no Danger in it, and besides having his Promise to engage the Queen, which was the nicest point in the Affair; he frankly own'd to him his whole Mind, and even what MURRAY and he had agreed upon. The Earl of LEICESTER answer'd as he had done before, that is, made a thousand

and Protestations of serving him to the utmost; insomuch, that the deceiv'd Duke, now thinking all was safe, wrote to the Queen of *Scots* a Declaration of his Passion: which being favourably receiv'd, he in a short time obtain'd from her a full Pardon for MURRAY, deceiving her as he had been deceiv'd himself into an Opinion, that he was become an entire Convert to her Interest. As the greatest sign of Goodness is to believe good of another, the poor deluded Queen sent him into *Scotland* with Letters to her Friends, who were about raising another Army for her Deliverance, conjuring them not to stir, for she had an assured Expectation of Help by ways less hazardous: It was some of these which MURRAY contriv'd shou'd fall into the hands of Queen ELIZABETH, thereby to increase her Suspicion and Hatred of the Queen of *Scots*.

BEFORE MURRAY went, he left his Instructions with LEICESTER how to proceed, and above all, charg'd him not to discover any thing of the Affair between MARY and the Duke; till such time as it was brought so near a Conclusion, that it might seem there was nothing wanting to compleat it, but her

Consent, which he knew wou'd be crime enough to that jealous Princess.

THE Duke, lull'd as it were asleep by the Insinuations of LEICESTER, spent all his Hours in Lovers Paradise, feeding Desire with the near Prospect of that unspeakable Felicity, which an amorous Heart places in the Enjoyment of the darling Object; pursu'd his Aim, not like a Politician, or a Man, who was transacting an Affair, whereon his Welfare or utter Undoing depended; but like a Man, who, lost in Passion, despises all other Considerations: He wrote every day to the beautiful Queen, and had Answers as kind as her Dignity and the natural Modesty of her Sex wou'd permit her to give. As the Duke, and the Earl of MURRAY, had assured her they did nothing without the Consent of Queen ELIZABETH, she acted with less Reserve; and at last went so far, as to write to the States of *Scotland* to get her Marriage with BOTHWELL made void. This, being in a little time publickly known, increas'd Queen ELIZABETH's Apprehensions, and not being able to guess from what source MARY's Expectations were derived, made her suspicious of every thing; she order'd her Prisoner shou'd be more closely watch'd than

than she had been, and the Spies she set about her, were at length so industrious, that she got knowledge of the whole Intrigue, and a Copy of the Marriage Articles, which the Duke sent to the Queen to sign. They were as follow.

‘ First, That she shou’d attempt nothing, which might be prejudicial to Queen ELIZABETH, or the Children, born of her, in the Succession of the Kingdom.

‘ That she shou’d enter into a League offensive and defensive between the two Kingdoms.

‘ That she shou’d establish the Protestant Religion in *Scotland*, the same as it was in *England*.

‘ That she shou’d grant a general Pardon to all those *Scots*, who had taken Arms against her.

‘ That she shou’d revoke her Assignment of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* to the Duke of ANJOU.

‘ That she shou’d marry the Duke of NORFOLK.’

THESE Terms she readily accepted; only touching the League she could answer nothing without the *French* King's knowledge. It was while they were debating this Point, that Queen ELIZABETH had Intelligence of the Affair; she flew not into Extremes presently, only seeing the Duke of NORFOLK one day at her Palace in *Westminster*, she gave him a Hint, that his Designs were not unknown to her; by telling him he had best take care what Pillow he lean'd his Head on. And afterward going to visit the Earl of LEICESTER, who was sick or dissembled it, till he shou'd hear how the Queen wou'd take this Discovery; the fear he was in lest his Silence in the Affair shou'd be accounted criminal, made him redden as soon as the Queen came into the Room, which she taking notice of, began some Discourse on ordinary Affairs; which convincing him she was not displeas'd, he took occasion to speak of the matter himself, and related all he knew of it, concluding with entreating her Pardon for concealing it so long. She easily granted his Request, and taking leave of him, soon after sent for the Duke of NORFOLK, to whom she put on a quite different Countenance, reproaching

reproaching him for his Presumption in undertaking any thing of that nature without her knowledge, and telling him that she had a strong Inclination to deliver him into the hands of Justice, whence she said he wou'd not easily escape, when prov'd to have held a Correspondence with a known Enemy to the Crown of *England*. The Duke, tho' very much surprized, answer'd with some Haughtiness, that he had never thought a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* so far beyond his Hopes; he look'd on his Revenues to be as large as her's, considering the Distractions, which had so much rent *Scotland*; and that he had not entertain'd any such Thoughts, but that MURRAY put them into his head, and LEICESTER had promis'd to gain her Consent——but that since her Majesty was so averse to it, he wou'd think of it no more——These last Words, seemingly pacify'd her, and she dismiss'd him from her Presence, bidding him remember what he had promis'd.

WHATEVER Anger the Queen express'd on the first Discovery of this Affair, her Soul rejoic'd at it; because it gave her a Pretence for refusing both the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors, who made

made great Sollicitations for the Liberty of the Queen of *Scots*. As the Proofs of her Innocence had been much stronger than the Aspersions of her Enemies, there cou'd no reason have been given for detaining her; but this Plot, as they call'd it, gave her the Excuse she wanted, and she told the *French* Ambassador, who seem'd the warmest in the Affair, that her Friends advis'd her not to give Opportunities to a Person, who made use of 'em to carry on Conspiracies against her, and corrupt the Loyalty of her Subjects, and that, therefore, he need say no more about it, till her Government and Self cou'd be safe. And immediately order'd her to be remov'd from *Bolton* to *Winfield*, a Country free from all Commerce; the Governor whereof was the Earl of HUNTINGTON, who us'd her very roughly; for beside his doing so to make his court to Queen ELIZABETH, he had another Reason: He had some Pretensions to the Crown of *England*, and as the Queen of *Scots* was the immediate and presumptive Heir, he wou'd have been glad to have advanced his Title by her Death; his cruel Treatment would probably have accomplish'd it, had not Heaven, in this Misfortune, taken a particular Care of her, to the end that she might suffer more.

ALL

ALL this time was MURRAY in *Scotland*, where he acted as he pleas'd; for the Queen by her Letters, having order'd the Forces to be disbanded, which had taken Arms for her; he no sooner saw their Chiefs defenceless, but by their Ruin he made himself absolute in the Kingdom. Whereupon he wrote to the Duke of NORFOLK not to take any notice of Queen ELIZABETH's Threats, for he had a Secret Party in *England*, and would come himself, and set every thing to rights for his Satisfaction: which gaining Belief in the Mind of the unwary Duke, he wrote to him again, desiring he would get the Marriage-Contract confirm'd by the States of the Kingdom, and as to the Queen's Delivery out of Prison, he might leave that to him, for he had found the means of doing it with a great deal of Ease. MURRAY sent this Letter immediately to Queen ELIZABETH, but in the meantime, the Duke, as he had writ to MURRAY, had really contrived a way for the Queen's Escape by the means of one DACRES an Officer, who belong'd to the Castle where she was confined, and he had certainly carry'd her off, had not the Duke himself been the Hindrance of what he before so earnestly desired. The
Day

Day before the Project was to have been put in execution he had been with the Queen, and offer'd great things for the Freedom of the Queen of *Scots*, but they were refused: At the same time, a Person belonging to the Duke told him, that DACRES had been seen to come out of the Ambassador's House, and that there were several *Spanish* Ships lurking about the Coast, near which MARY was confined: All this put together, as Lovers are always jealous, made the Duke believe that DACRES was in the Interest of the Ambassador, and that if the Queen herself was not privy to it, yet she wou'd not be for him, if DACRES deliver'd her by the *Spanish* Interest, DON JOHN of AUSTRIA having been long in love with her. Therefore, thinking it the utmost Madness to run so much hazard for a Woman, who, tho' he passionately lov'd, he cou'd not hope to enjoy, he put a stop to any further Proceedings, giving Queen ELIZABETH a secret Intimation by a Letter in an unknown hand, that there was a Design laid for her Escape; which made her send Orders to have her Guards doubled, and the Officers about her chang'd: and thus by too much Love was this unfortunate Queen rendred as wretched, as she had been by the want of it.

IN a short time after this, Queen ELIZABETH having Intelligence of every thing from MURRAY, who sent her all the Duke's Letters, finding he persisted in his Design of marrying her, was resolv'd to commit him to the Tower: which he getting notice of, prevented by retiring, without taking leave of any body, into the *Northern* Parts of the Kingdom; where he was Lord Lieutenant. He let her know by Letter, that he was extremely sorry his Enemies had obliged him to take this Course for his Preservation; but seeing they were so powerful about her, he knew of no other Expedient, but that he hoped in a little time her Majesty wou'd be fully convinced of his Innocence, and permit him to return without any Occasion to fear his appearing at Court wou'd be fatal to him. The Queen answer'd him, that he was much to blame for withdrawing himself; for tho' there had been some light Complaints against him, yet she gave no heed to 'em, believing they were such as he cou'd easily clear himself of; and that if he wou'd come back, he shou'd find her willing to hear his Reasons, and to pardon any small Crime, which Inadvertency had drawn him to commit. But
these

these fair Promises, tho' they carry'd a Shew of Kindness, cou'd not deceive him; who was so well acquainted with the Queen's Temper. He therefore gave her Thanks for the Favours she was pleas'd to confer on him; but at the same time, told her his Presence was necessary in the Country about some Affairs, which it lay on him to decide; and that after that was over, he wou'd not fail to throw himself at her feet, and prove himself a loyal Subject. But the Queen let him know, that if he did not come, the *Scotch* Queen should answer for all that had pass'd between 'em. Here the Duke found himself in a great *Dilemma*, and by this knew more than ever he had believ'd of himself before, how very much he was govern'd by his Passion. — He now imagined there was no way to save his Mistress, but by forfeiting his own Head; and if sometimes the love of Life got the better, then he condemn'd his own Jealousy for hindering her Escape from the Dangers which threatn'd her, when she might have done it; and thought he could do no less than die for the Expiation of that Fault. — With this Resolution he came and surrendered himself; which he had no sooner done, than he was sent to the *Tower*, and the

Queen

Queen was just about to order his Prosecution ; but some Friends of his, who she was not willing to disoblige, interceding in his Behalf, with great difficulty prevented that Stroke, which must have ended in his Ruin ; and, contrary to his Hope, he suffered no other Punishment than a few Months Imprisonment.

THIS however had been enough to have deter'd him from engaging any farther with the Queen of *Scots*, had her Charms, or his Passion, been of the common Rank ; but it is certain, that Love grows stronger by opposition : thinking his Imprisonment, and the hazard he had run, a Demonstration of his Sincerity, he scarce cou'd look on it as a Misfortune : but he wrote to her to trust no more to MURRAY, for he was credibly inform'd by some Friends of his at Court, that it was thro' his means that the Secret of their Correspondence had been made known.

THE Queen of *Scotland* at length being compell'd, by the rigorous Treatment she met with, to try all manner of Ways for her Delivery, acquainted the Duke, that there was a secret Alliance
be-

between all the Princes of *Europe*, to relieve her from the miserable State she languish'd under, and to establish the Popish Religion not only in *Scotland*, but in *England* also; and that if he would embrace that Faith, he might be admitted into the League. He, not being able to refuse her any thing, and glad to enter into any Measures which he fancy'd might be conducive to the Accomplishment of his Desires, promis'd even more than was required of him; and was immediately let into the whole Conspiracy which was then on foot: of which this is an Account,

POPE Pius the Fifth, who has since been canonized, having nothing so much at heart, as to do some signal Service to the Church, during his *Pontificate*, order'd his *Nuncio's* to use their utmost endeavours, to extirpate *Protestantism*, which began now to spread itself in a very extraordinary manner.

AND tho' his Cares were principally employ'd for those States who own'd Obedience to the Holy See, yet was he very much concern'd to hear the *Papists* were so hardly dealt with in *England*; he often wrote to the *French King* to in-

interpose for them : but *France* at that time was so far from being able to meddle in it, that they had greater Interests to look after with Queen ELIZABETH, which they cou'd not bring about to their minds. Thus the Holy Father perceiving nothing was to be expected from them, resolved to try another way : he was excited also to it by Letters from the Queen of *Scots*, wherein she told him, that her's, and all the Catholick Hopes depended only on him. The zealous Pope was diligent in complying with her Entreaties, and there being a *Genoese*, named RIDOLPH, who had liv'd several Years in *London* as a Banker, now at *Rome*, whether by chance, or sent from the *Catholicks*, is uncertain ; but he acquainted his Holiness, that the Number of *Papists* in *England* was much greater than was imagin'd, because in the Reign of the late Queen MARY, almost all the Realm were of that Religion ; and if the Nobles had since forsaken it, it was only to follow that Maxim, That it was most advantageous to be of the same Faith with the Prince : He added also, that in their Hearts they were still of the Church of *Rome*, and wanted nothing but Opportunity to declare themselves so ; concluding, that if his Holiness would but fur-

nish them with Money, and engage the King of *Spain* to let them have a few Men and Horfes out of the *Netherlands*, there would be no doubt of a general Insurrection. Altho' the *Pope* did not altogether give credit to what this Man said, not knowing but his *Zeal* might outweigh his *Wisdom*; yet being unwilling to neglect any thing which bore a shew of promoting the Catholick Interest, he sends RIDOLPH into *England* with 12000 Ducats, to bestow among the poor Papists; commanding him to inform himself in every thing necessary for the Design, and to give him notice: and also to acquaint the Queen of *Scots*, and all of the *Romish* Religion, of his fatherly Affection to them, and that he wou'd leave nothing undone to procure them ease.

WHEN at his return to *England*, the Queen of *Scots* was inform'd of his Negotiations, knowing the great Number of Malecontents, she did not in the least doubt but the Affair would succeed; but thought it necessary, above all things, to have some Person of Consideration and Figure to be of the Party. Therefore while this was doing, her Correspondence with the Duke being renew'd, occasion'd

casion'd her to write to him in the manner already mentioned. But they were so closely watch'd, and every little Particular represented to Queen ELIZABETH, that she was obliged to let the Duke know, that since Letters between them too frequently might be dangerous, she wou'd communicate her thoughts to the Bishop of ROSSE, and that she wou'd stand to whatsoever that Prelate, and the Baron of LIDINGTON should do in her name. The Duke promis'd, that he wou'd cause a Rising in the Northern Parts of *England*, and another in *Ireland*, by the Interest he had there; but added withal, that there would be wanting Money, and some regular Troops. They obliged the Duke to write all this to the Pope, and to promise him likewise to turn *Papist*, as soon as the Affairs of *England* wou'd permit.

THE *Pope*, overjoy'd to hear that things went on so well, answer'd the Duke, that he should ever find him a most indulgent Father——He promis'd also to be at all the expence of the War, and to advance 200,000 Ducats beforehand; and wrote to the King of *Spain*, to order the Duke D'ALVA, Governour of the *Netherlands*, to treat with those

who should be sent to him from the *English* Catholicks.

GEORGE SEATON was the Person pitch'd on both by the Queen and the Duke's Desire for this Embassy: he told D'ALVA that he came in the Name of the imprison'd Queen of *Scotland*, and all the Catholicks in *England*, entreating him to engage in their Defence; and to supply them with a good Commander and some Troops. The Duke having receiv'd his Orders from the Council of *Spain*, granted all that was desired, which was 6000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, which were to land in the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, where the Duke of *Norfolk* was Lieutenant: but as for the Commander that was to be ready to head these Troops at their first Rising, that was not a matter so easy to be accomplished, because any Man of Figure coming out of the *Netherlands*, would be liable to Suspicion. Nevertheless an Occasion offered itself, which seem'd favourable; there had happened a Misunderstanding a little before between *England* and *Spain*, about a certain Piracy which Queen ELIZABETH pretended the Duke of ALVA had countenanced; by way of Return, she stop'd all the

the *Spanish* Ships in her Harbours: this, 'twas thought, would come to an open Rupture. The Duke of ALVA therefore took this Opportunity to send into *England* CHAPIN DE VITELI, a *Genoese*, and one of the greatest Captains of his Age.——Queen ELIZABETH and her Council doubted a long time whether they should receive him as an Ambassador, fearing the Duke had some other design than making up this matter, in sending a Person whose Presence was so absolutely necessary in a Place which was the Seat of War, as then the *Low Countries* were.—— But things being already too much exasperated, they found means to send him back without disobliging the *Spaniards*: they ask'd if he had Power to treat about the Money which had been taken from the *English* Merchants; but as that was not in reality the Business which had brought him there, he answered he had not.—— On which they desired him to return, for the Queen was resolv'd to come into no Measures, till she was satisfied in that Point: so he was obliged to cross the Seas again without doing any thing, the Plot not being ripe for Execution while he staid in *London*.

The End of the Second Part.

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 — Thus ended A. V. A. to speak the
 The End of the Second Part.



MARY STUART,

Queen of Scotland.

PART III.



THE *Pope* laying hold on all Opportunities to accomplish a Design which he thought would so much forward the *Romish* Religion; excommunicated Queen ELIZABETH, as having forfeited her Title to the Crown of *England*, and absolv'd all her Subjects from their Allegiance to her; and some of his Agents were

so boldly zealous in the Affair, that they stuck the Copy of the Bull on St. *Paul's* Church; and observing the People in a Consternation who it was that had been so daring, they voluntarily surrendered themselves, and with an astonishing Courage sustained the Punishments inflicted on them. ——— So prodigious are the Effects of *Enthusiasm*!

THE *Pope* thought that let the Queen show ever so much Contempt of his Authority, it would not hinder what he did from making an Impression on the *Papists* in *England*, and rouze up in their Minds that Horror and Aversion which People naturally conceive against those who abolish an old Religion: and indeed, it answered his Expectations, for the Northern Parts of the Kingdom and the greatest Part of *Ireland*, where almost all the Natives were of the *Romish* Persuasion, took up Arms, carrying Flags, whereon was painted a *Crucifix* and a *Chalice*, designing by those Emblems to convince the World what they did was wholly on the score of Religion: but this being only a popular Commotion, and before things were ripe, that is, before the Troops were arrived from *Flanders*, this Rising was fruitless. Queen
ELIZA-

ELIZABETH sent Forces immediately against them, and they were quite overthrown and scattered in two or three Battles. The Queen was not certain that the Duke of NORFOLK was concern'd in this Rebellion, nevertheless being very well assured that some of the Nobility must be engaged in it, and 'twas probably the Queen of *Scots* and the *Spaniards* also: to strengthen herself therefore against so many Enemies, she thought it necessary to get *France* into her Interest, and by that means to take them off from allowing any Assistance to the imprisoned Queen, for whom at present they appeared very zealous; which she compass'd in this manner:

CATHERINE DE MEDICIS having had all her Childrens Nativities calculated, was told that they should all wear Crowns. — That she might help to fulfil this Prophecy, she thought several times of proposing her second Son the Duke of ANJOU to Queen ELIZABETH, and if she did it not sooner, it was because she knew by others how difficult it was to persuade that Princess to think of Marriage. But Queen ELIZABETH, who had Intelligence of what pass'd in all the Courts of *Europe*, laid hold

hold on this blind side, and made the Proposal to her: HENRY, who was after King of *France*, was at that time Chief of the *Hugonots*, and had rais'd many Disturbances in the Kingdom; and both the King his Brother, and CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, were over-joy'd at this Offer, which would strengthen them against any thing he might undertake.

COMMISSIONERS on both sides were appointed to agree on the Articles; and while this Treaty was on foot, which took from Queen ELIZABETH all fear of what *France* might do in favour of the *Scottish* Queen, she was not idle in looking into the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Earl of MURRAY, who was very powerful in that Kingdom on account of his Regency, dreaded nothing so much, as the Queen being set at liberty, which must infallibly have deprived him of his Authority: for which reason he was continually pressing Queen ELIZABETH to make her away; always accusing her of being engaged in some Plot or other. And now was the Policy of this Princess in a greater streight than ever she had found it before: she knew not what Pretence to make for the detaining any longer the Queen of
Scots

Scots in Prison, nor how to take away her Life, without incurring the Odium of Cruelty and Injustice, nor how to set her at liberty, without putting a Sword into her Hand to revenge herself for the past Hardships she had sustained. Things were now past all hope of Reconciliation, and 'tis a Maxim among Statesmen, never to hurt, without they totally destroy.——A long time she remained in this Dilemma, but at last hit on a Medium which she thought would rid her of an Enemy, whom her Wrongs had made so, and at the same time save herself the Guilt of having contributed to her Ruin. She agreed with MURRAY to deliver her into his Hands, to do with her as he pleas'd. Thus under the Pretence of sending her home honourably to her Kingdom, she was working her utter Destruction, by giving her into the Power of a Person, who she knew would soon, by some means or other, rid both her and himself of her so much dreaded Life.——Accordingly the Traitor Earl set out to meet her with as great a Number of Forces as he could get together; which made it evident to all discerning Persons, that this unhappy Queen was only about to change her Prison, not Condition: but Heaven ordain'd this to be the last Proof
of

of his Perfidiousness, and that in the moment when he expected the Accomplishment of his wicked Designs, he should be snatch'd from all his Hopes, and call'd to answer for his past Offences——

When he came to *Limmach*, triumphing in prosperous Villany, and saying within himself, nothing could now hinder him from a continued Possession of his ill-gotten Power, one of the *Hamiltons* whom he had persecuted as a Favourer of the Queen, desperate with his Wrongs, and burning with Desire to free his Country from so detestable a Monster, approaching him at a convenient distance, lodg'd a brace of Bullets in his Breast as he was riding encompass'd by a great Number of Lords; then setting Spurs to his Horse, got to the Sea-side, where a Bark lay ready to attend him, and so over to *France*, notwithstanding he was pursued by the Friends of the dead Traitor, with all the speed imaginable. Having been some time in *Paris*, where his late Action had made him much known and talk'd of, he was offered a great Reward to assassinate Admiral *Coligny*, but he disdainfully refused it, saying he knew how to revenge Injuries done to himself and Country, but had nothing to do with those of others, by these Words

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proving that Honour alone had excited him to take the Life of MURRAY.

AS for that Villain, he no sooner found his Wound incurable, than he shew'd by his outrageous Discourses and Blasphemies, that he never had any Sense of Religion, tho' he had made it his pretence for all he had been guilty of against his Queen——he curs'd his hard Fate a thousand times; and, without admitting either the Prayers of a Priest, or *Protestant* Minister, died as he had liv'd.

THIS Accident very much surpriz'd and shock'd the *English* Queen, who saw all her long concerted Measures broken by his Death, and that she must take other Methods, and speedily, to ward off the Dangers which threatned her on all sides, on the Queen of *Scots* Imprisonment. In the first place, by her Interest in *Scotland*, she procured the Earl of LENOX, the young Prince's Grandfather, to be chosen Regent in the room of MURRAY, that by this means the Disorders in the Kingdom might be kept up: because the Earl having been made to believe the Queen was accessory to the Murder of his Son, it would put a stop to all Agreement between him and the

the Queen's Party, who were, since the Death of MURRAY, endeavouring to raise another Army.

AS soon as Queen ELIZABETH had settled this Affair, she began to treat seriously with the Duke of ANJOU; and 'tis thought the Marriage between them would have been accomplish'd; had she not refused the Duke shou'd have Mass publicly said; and CATHERINE DE MEDICIS would agree on no other Terms.

WHILE these things were thus transacting, the Pope, the Duke of NORFOLK, and the Bishop of ROSSE, lost no time; tho' the ill Success of the last Rebellion in *England*, had in some measure disheartened them: yet was it not enough entirely to extinguish the Pope's Zeal, the Spaniard's Ambition, the Duke of NORFOLK's Love, or the Bishop of ROSSE's Loyalty. After they had lain quiet some time, and recover'd from the Consternation they were in, on the defeat of their Designs; the Queen of *Scots*, being the most interested in the matter, began to think of other means of escaping from her Prison. ELIZABETH, who had always flatter'd her with the hope of setting her

her at liberty, that she might thereby hinder her from joining in any Conspiracy against her, propos'd to her at last, to send her back into her Kingdom, on condition she should utterly abolish the *Romish* Religion in *Scotland*, renounce all Right and Title to the Crown of *England*, and send the young Prince to be educated under her Care. Tho' that distressed Princess could not think of agreeing to these Terms; yet she wou'd not seem utterly to reject them, for the following Reasons.

SHE acquainted the King of *Spain*, who she found was not so warm in her Interests as usual, that seeing all the *Christian* Princes had abandon'd her, and she had no way to avoid the Miseries which threaten'd her, she was now compell'd to agree to Articles which would be the utter Ruin of the *Popish* Religion, of which he was the most zealous Defender. This Step had the desired Effect; for PHILIP the Second, who bore Queen ELIZABETH no good will, because she had given shelter to the *Netherlanders* who were retired into *England*, promis'd her all manner of Assistance; and to that end wrote to the Duke D'ALVA, to renew the Treaty with her Deputies.

She

She, on this, sent RIDOLPH the *Genoese*, whom we made mention of before; and they agreed on the following Conditions. That the young Prince of *Scotland* shou'd be sent into *Spain*, and educated in that Court; that the Duke D'ALVA shou'd land six thousand Foot and three thousand Horse under the Command of a good Officer in *England*, and that as soon, as the Queen shou'd be at liberty, (which was the first thing to be procured) the Duke of *Norfolk* shou'd marry her. This Affair was carry'd on just as the rest had been, that is, to the very point of being executed, and then broke off. Heaven had yet in store more Miseries for that afflicted Princess; and in striving to fly from them, she but made them more heavy.

RIDOLPH, who had the Management of this Affair with the *Pope* and the Duke D'ALVA, being at *Brussels* with the latter, sent an account of his Negotiation to the Bishop of *Rose* by one BAILIF a *Flemming*; and tho' that Prelate had given him a strict Charge to put the Packet into the hands of the Governor of *Calais*, that he might send them, as his own, to the *French* Ambassador; nevertheless, whether thinking it not necessary,

necessary, or for any other Reason, he
 obey'd not this Injunction: When BAILIF
 therefore landed at *Dover*, being
 known to have been formerly in the Ser-
 vice of the Queen of *Scots*, he was im-
 mediately seiz'd and search'd. The Pac-
 ket of Letters being found upon him, they
 carry'd it to the Lord COBHAM, Warden
 of the *Cinque Ports*; but the Bishop of
 ROSSE having notice of it, and the Lord
 COBHAM being an intimate Friend of the
 Duke of NORFOLK'S, and finding some
 Letters among them directed for him, he
 was easily prevail'd on to let the Bishop
 see them; who taking out the Letters,
 which contain'd any thing of the Conspi-
 racy, made up another Packet, in bulk
 like the former, which was, as usual,
 carry'd to the Council: but some inquisi-
 tive and malicious Person, having given
 some Hints, that the Bishop of ROSSE
 had been at the Lord COBHAM'S, BAILIF
 was put to the Rack, on which he con-
 fess'd, that some of the Letters had been
 made away with. — After that, they
 sent to search the Bishop's House; but he
 having notice of it, sent his Secretary
 out of the way, lest they shou'd serve him,
 as they had done BAILIF, and destroy
 all the *Cyphers*, and all the Papers,
 which cou'd any way hurt him. And

the Earl of SUSSEX, who was the Person commission'd to search, cou'd find nothing he wanted : but this hinder'd him not from questioning the Bishop, in form, as a Criminal ; but that Prelate pleaded his Privilege as an Ambassador, and that he was accountable to none but his Prince, with so much Courage, that the other cou'd get nothing out of him : They set a Guard over him, however, and afterwards sent him into a distant Island.

ALL these things made Queen ELIZABETH extremely uneasy, she was obliged to break off entirely with the Duke of ANJOU ; her Protestant Subjects on the one side declaring, that they wou'd not suffer a *Popish* King to reign over them ; and PHILIP of *Spain* on the other, that if she proceeded any further in that Marriage, he must take other Measures than he design'd to have done. These kind of Menaces, to a Woman of her Spirit, were ill to be endured ; yet she seem'd not to resent it, knowing if she did, the Quarrel of the *Scottish* Queen wou'd be immediately the Pretence for a Rupture. These Fears increasing her Hatred to that distress'd Princess, she deprived her, even of that little Liberty she had hitherto enjoy'd,

joy'd, debarring her the Privilege of the Gardens, and reducing the Number of her Attendants to ten, and allowing her but one Priest out of four, which had been before permitted to officiate.

TO increase the Animosity between these two Queens, MARY'S Faction in *Scotland*, having nothing to subsist on, but what they receiv'd privately from her; the strict Confinement she was in, and the Danger any Person incurr'd, who attempted to serve her in whatsoever respect, obliged her to take extraordinary means to send the Money to these unfortunate Wretches.—She cou'd think of no Person more proper to be entrusted with the Charge than the *French* Ambassador, who might send it into *Scotland* by some Artifice or other with less Suspicion than any other cou'd do; but that Minister being afraid of losing his Credit with Queen ELIZABETH, if it shou'd by any Accident be discover'd he had been meddling in this Affair, prevail'd on the Duke of NORFOLK to take the Trust on him, telling him that it was in his power to perform it with infinitely less difficulty, because he was Governour of that Part of *England*, which borders on *Scotland*.—He was too much a Lover of that Queen

to refuse any thing, which he thought might be conducive to her Peace of Mind, and therefore readily undertook it; and sent the Money to an Inhabitant of *Shrewsbury*, who was a Dependant on him, ordering him to remit it to the Lord HERRIS in *Scotland*——But the Custom-house Officers, who were on the Frontiers of both Kingdoms, demanding what it was they carry'd seal'd up, and being answer'd that it was Silver, one of them by the Weight suspecting it was Gold, and by the Bulk a considerable Sum, exerted the Privilege of his Office, and seiz'd it, and sent it to the Council, who presently guess'd where the Money came from, and how it was to be apply'd; and in tracing the matter, finding the Duke of NORFOLK had knowledge of it, he was immediately sent to the *Tower*, on suspicion of High Treason; alledging that he had been guilty from the time he began to hold Correspondence with the Lord HERRIS, who had been declared an Enemy to the Crown of *England*, because in the last Rebellion he had drawn near with a Party of arm'd Men, as it was said, with an Intent to assist them. But so small a Crime was not sufficient to take off the Duke, and consequently not to break off the means

on foot, for the Delivery of the Queen of Scots, had not himself, thro' Inadvertency, hasten'd his own Destruction. The Queen of *England* soon after he was imprison'd sending him word, that if he wou'd discover the whole Correspondence between him and the *Scottish* Queen, she wou'd not only pardon, but also consent, if he were not proved too criminal for Mercy to forgive, that he shou'd marry her; he fell presently into the Snare, and confess'd, that they had written to each other daily, even at the time, when the Queen had express'd herself most disoblig'd with any, who shou'd carry on a Friendship with her—but withal, assured her Majesty, that it had been only on the score of Love, and that he had never heard, nor had that Princess made any Proposal to him, which tended to the Dishonour or Prejudice of *England*; adding, that she might be convinced of the Truth of what he said, by the very Letters themselves, which he told her were hid in a certain Place in his House, where, without his Directions or his Secretary's, it was impossible for them to be found. The Queen immediately sent Persons to search in the Place the Duke had nominated, and they indeed found, as he said, a great Number of Love-Letters, and with them some other Papers, which he little thought were there——As the

Pope was the principal Engine in this Affair, there had pass'd several Letters between him, and the Queen of *Scots*, both the one and the other were wrote in Cyphers of a different sort——but were copy'd by the Duke of NORFOLK's Secretary, who had a Key to both the Cyphers: Those which were for the *Pope*, were given to the *Spanish* Ambassador to be sent to him; and those for MARY, he copy'd in other Cyphers, which were her own, and she read as well as common Characters. The Duke had given a strict Charge to his Secretary, always to burn the Originals as soon as he had transcribed them; but he had not done it, but left them in that secret Place, where they were found by those Queen ELIZABETH commission'd to search; and among them there was a Letter, which the *Scottish* Queen had written to the Duke, wherein she acquaints him, that since there was no hope of Help from Queen ELIZABETH, she was resolv'd to seek it elsewhere, and that she shou'd soon have an Opportunity to try the Sincerity of that Passion he had made such great Professions of.——These Discoveries made it plainly appear, that the Duke had been privy to the Plot, which had been carrying on, and was sufficient to take off his Head.——He was try'd by

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Commissioners appointed for that purpose, and being found guilty, was condemn'd to suffer the Death inflicted on those, who were convicted of High Treason; that is, to be half-strangled, and then quarter'd, and his Heart taken out by the hands of the common Hangman.——But the Queen was pleas'd to mitigate the Severity of that Sentence, and order'd him to be beheaded——she allow'd him also three Months Preparation for his Death; but when the fatal Day at last arrived, he appear'd so fearful, that it was not to be wonder'd at, that an Enterprize of such a nature, relying only upon him, had miscarry'd.——He often call'd Queen ELIZABETH his most gracious Mistress, thinking thereby to obtain his Pardon, and he, who had threatned to overthrow the *Protestant* Religion in *England*, and to introduce *Poper*y, died like a Minister of the former.——He protested with his last Breath, that all he had done, he had been wholly compell'd to by the Violence of a Passion which he was not able to resist.

THE *Pope* could not hear of the Miscarriage of this Design, even just ready to be put in execution, and which he had so long thought on with the greatest concern.

cern, without a sensible Affliction : He wou'd not for several days admit of Comfort——The King of *Spain* was also extremely troubled, and declared before the *Cardinal* of *Alexandria*, that never was a Conspiracy better laid, nor kept longer secret among such a number of People who had a hand in it, nor might more easily have been executed ; maintaining, that it would have been easy to have landed, in twenty-four hours time, a sufficient number of Forces from *Flanders*, to have carried the City of *London* by Assault, and afterwards have seiz'd on the whole Kingdom, by the help of the *Roman Catholics*, who would doubtless all have taken arms, when they saw themselves so powerfully assisted.

AFTER the Execution of the Duke of NORFOLK, QUEEN ELIZABETH would have proceeded against her Royal Prisoner as a Criminal ; but that Princess maintain'd, with a Courage natural to those born to wear a Crown, that she had done nothing but what she ought ; that being born a Queen, she could not without Injustice be detain'd in Custody ; and that therefore she might lawfully seek all means to obtain her Liberty. Her Spirit however would have been but little

ple serviceable to her on this occasion against a Queen who had herself the greatest share of it of any Woman living, if she had thought it safe at that Juncture to have exerted it; but thinking the Affairs of *France* and the *Netherlands* were not yet in Confusion enough to prevent them from taking any notice of, or resenting what she did, she deferred the Prosecution of her designed Revenge, till a more favourable Opportunity should offer, contenting herself with strengthening the Queen of *Scots* Imprisonment.

THIS Enterprize had not been the only one form'd for the Delivery of the unhappy Subject of this History. A Captain of the Guard appointed to observe her, felt the same Passion for her, as had been the Ruin of the Duke of NORFOLK. He propos'd to the Bishop of *Rosse* an easy Method for her Escape, as she was walking in the Gardens, which at that time she was allowed to do once a Week; and had she not been afraid of disobliging the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, and those other Princes who were then endeavouring her Liberty, by leaving what had then the appearance of certainty for the contrary, she had

had not pass'd so many Years in a Prison, and at last ended her Life by the hands of a common Executioner. — This Stragem, therefore, and many others offered to her, she rejected ; which after the Discovery of the grand Design and Death of the Duke of NORFOLK, she sufficiently repented,

A M I D S T all the Hardships she endured, she had not only her own Condition to regret : The Affairs of *Scotland*, the Streights to which all those who maintain'd their Fidelity to her were reduced, and the Love she bore her Son, stuck close to her Heart. — She heard with inexpressible Concern of the loss of the Castle of *Dunbritton*, which seem'd to be impregnable any way but by Surprise : when any of her Party found themselves too weak to cope with the other, it was to that Place they had been used to retreat, and sally out sometimes and get the better of their Enemies ; which hindring Queen ELIZABETH from being absolute in *Scotland*, she cou'd not proceed against her Prisoner as she thought fit : but this Impediment to the Designs of that successful Princess was in this manner remov'd. — The Faction headed by the Earl of MORTON, so narrowly

narrowly watched all Occasions of surprizing this Castle, that at last a fit one offered itself: One Morning being very foggy, they planted their Scaling-Ladders against the Rock, on that side which was reckon'd most inaccessible, and therefore least guarded; having by this means pass'd the foot of the Rock, they climb'd up with great difficulty on all four, till they reach'd the Castle. Tho' there were but a few of them, and nothing more easy than to have beat them down, yet the surprize of the Garrison was so great, that they immediately took to their heels, and left the Passage; nay, in such Confusion were they involv'd, that in their flight they flung one another down into the Sea. Having nothing now but to get down and open the Gates, the rest of the Army like a Torrent pour'd in, and put to the Sword or took Prisoners all they found there. — Among them was the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who without regard to his Function, they hang'd on a Tree; several *English* Fugitives, who had retired thither, were also serv'd in the same manner. — The Earl of LENOX, who was Regent, they beheaded, and the Earl of MARR succeeded him; but dying soon after, MORTON had the Post. — He used the young King with almost the same Inhu-

Inhumanity, as he had done his Mother; insomuch, as fearing they would also take his Life, he complained to his Uncles the GUISES, who, unwilling to let slip the Opportunity, sent the Count D'AUBIGNY into *Scotland*, who was a Person very well qualify'd to carry on a great Design. The Success answer'd the Expectation: he immediately put himself at the head of those yet remaining Troops which had preserv'd their Allegiance to the Queen, and not only rescued the young Prince from the Malecontents, but likewise seiz'd on MORTON, and deliver'd him into the hands of Justice, to be try'd for the Murder of HENRY the Second.——Terrify'd with his approaching Fate, and stung with Remorse, he confess'd that BOTHWELL and himself had depriv'd that unhappy King of Life, and that it was done by the Instigations of MURRAY, and that the Queen was wholly innocent of it; adding moreover this particular Circumstance, that some of the Conspirators (whom they had persuaded she was privy to it) desiring to see her Order, BOTHWELL, among other Excuses, told them, that tho' she desired his death, by reason of his ill usage to her, yet she was of so gentle a nature, that she could not consent to have a Drop of his

his Blood shed : on which it was agreed he should be strangled.

THIS harass'd Kingdom enjoy'd but a little time the Calm which D'AUBIGNY, by his prudent Management, had restor'd.

—Queen ELIZABETH, who, by the Malecontents, was made to believe *Protestantism* wou'd now be wholly extirpated, sent to the Earl of GOURY, giving him to understand, that if he cou'd contrive any way to seize on the young King, she wou'd assist him with Troops to make himself Regent, and drive out D'AUBIGNY. This Design met with the desired Success: The Earl inviting the King to dine with him at one of his Castles, which was strongly fortify'd, he kept him there; and putting himself at the head of some Forces, which he had taken care to get ready before, obliged D'AUBIGNY to retire to *France*; wanting Money to raise the Recruits necessary to maintain a War with the Earl, who had many Friends to supply him nearer hand. Notwithstanding this, the young King, a while after, found the means of escaping out of his hands; and, raising a number of Forces, was once more set upon the Throne. His Mother, who heard but an imperfect account of all these

these Transactions, was rather made more uneasy, than instructed by them. She knew not what to hope or fear: the Apprehensions she lay under of losing her Son, whose State and Condition she never could get a true account of, made her often neglect the means of saving herself—fearing, if she escaped, it would be laid to his charge, and he thereby might suffer for it; which indeed was not unlikely: for since he did not as yet come into Queen ELIZABETH'S Measures, she thought of nothing more than to keep him from the power of contradicting those it appear'd her Interest to take.

IN the mean time, MARY was reduced to a Condition the most pityable that could be.——All her Servants were corrupted, even to her very Secretary; insomuch that, to make her miserable, they made her guilty, at least appear so: and it was by these sort of Treacheries that she had all along been undone; for when any thing was attempted by the Princes of *Europe* for her Delivery, and that the Council of *England* had no way to come off, there was presently some Letter or other produced, which made it appear dangerous to
Queen

Queen ELIZABETH to consent ; and, as if Fortune thought that all the Hardships she had yet endur'd, were not enough, loaded her yet with more. The Allowance she had from *France*, which was all she had to subsist on since her Imprisonment, diminish'd every Year, whether thro' the Troubles of the Times, or whether those who then govern'd more by Policy than Justice, is uncertain. There are Letters of hers extant, to Monsieur MAUSSIVIERE, who was then Ambassador from *France* at the Court of *England*, wherein she acquaints him to what wretched Streights she was reduced, and intreats him to remit her two thousand Crowns, to defray the Expences of her Table.

BUT all this was nothing to the Agony she endur'd, when she was told that her Son, ambitious of Royalty, acted in conjunction with her Enemies, to make her lose even the Name of Queen, which she had hitherto so courageously defended against all the Proposals made to her for her Delivery. As the young King had not the happiness of remembring her, it was easy for them to represent her as a Parricide, a Step-mother, a Woman who had destroy'd his Father, and
wanted

wanted but an Opportunity of doing the same by him, rather than as the tender and affectionate Parent she had ever been in her Cares and Wishes, which, poor Princess! were all she had to bestow. — In compliance with some Advisers, whose Interest it was, he made Proposals to her of resigning her Interest in the Kingdom to him, and contenting herself with an Allowance, which he told her shou'd be according to her Quality. Such Conditions offer'd by a Son to a Mother, such as she really was, had an effect which may more easily be imagin'd than described: — It flung her into Convulsions, which were very near obliging her to resign that Authority she was so much annoy'd with, and which to support, she had endured so many Hardships. — But tho' her Sorrow was infinitely more than whenever such Terms had been mention'd by any other Person, yet she made the very same resistance as before; adding to her Answer, that as her Son, without her, was no more than a private Man; he ought rather to have sought her Liberty with the hazard of his Life, than to increase the Miseries she labour'd under by his Disobedience, and hope his Advantage in the Violence she sustain'd. This Reply brought all things to the point

point Queen ELIZABETH wish'd; for the Variance between the Mother and Son made each equally jealous of the other, and hindred all the means from taking effect, either for restoring the one to her Freedom, or placing an absolute Power in the hands of the other. The young King living now a little at ease, and beginning to taste the Pleasures of Sovereignty, was more touch'd with them, than with his Affection toward his Mother: and being by some older Heads than his own inform'd, that to maintain himself in that Dignity, it was necessary he should gain the Queen of *England's* Favour; he endeavour'd it by Ways which were most acceptable to her; and so far from making any attempts to set his Mother at liberty, he acknowledg'd the Justice of her Behaviour towards her. Let any disinterested Person now judge the Afflictions of that distress'd Queen; her Kingdom torn and impoverish'd by intestine Jars, her loyal Subjects either murder'd, or their Estates confiscated, driven from their native Home, miserably to perish in a foreign Clime; herself a Prisoner, without hope of Enlargement; and, what was the most galling stroke of all, her Son, whom she so tenderly had lov'd,

Church O acting

acting in concert with her inveterate
 Foes, and seeming to wish a Period to
 that Life to which he ow'd his own.
 Queen ELIZABETH had nothing now to
 do, but to manage matters in that man-
 ner, that *France* and *Spain* might be too
 much employ'd at home, to have leisure
 to regard the Interests of a Queen, whose
 Affairs began to appear too desperate for
 relief. — The Success of her Strata-
 gems in this Business fully answer'd her
 wish, as indeed in every thing else For-
 tune seem'd to assist her Policy through-
 out the course of her whole Reign;
 and while all *Europe* was confused either
 with foreign or domestick Differences,
England alone enjoy'd perfect Tran-
 quillity. — She no sooner wish'd an
 Opportunity of revenging herself on
 PHILIP the Second, for what he had done
 against her, than one offer'd itself to her:
 The *Netherlanders*, not knowing which
 way to shun falling under the *Spanish*
 Yoke, which they more dreaded than the
 worst Slavery in the world, intreated
 her to take them under her Protection;
 they told her, that the Interest of the
Protestant Religion, which was their on-
 ly Crime, ought to engage her on their
 Side, as the greatest Prince in *Europe*
 who at that time profess'd to be of that
 Church.

Church.——Alas! they needed not have made use of these Arguments; she knew her Advantage in preventing the *Spaniard* from being absolute in a Place so near her own Dominions, and rejoiced that the means presented itself so luckily to her: she sent Forces immediately to the *States* assistance, which, with some others from *France*, prevented them from falling into the Misfortune they fear'd, and which must inevitably have happen'd, if they had not receiv'd help from abroad.

AS for *France*, the wise ELIZABETH had always a sure card to play, whenever there was the least appearance of Danger from that Side; which was, to cause a Rumour to be spread abroad, that she was about marrying some *Protestant* Prince, which infallibly engaged CATHERINE DE Medicis to propose to her one of her Sons, which she did at this time.

HENRY Duke of ANJOU having been chosen King of *Poland*, and likewise succeeded to the Crown of *France*, on the Decease of CHARLES the Ninth; there was now only the Duke of ALENCON, of all her Children, that had not wore a Crown; to fulfil the Prophecy

which was written on them when she had their Nativities calculated : So that, tho' she had met with great Difficulties when she propos'd the Match with HENRY, who was at that time King, she nevertheless made the same Proposals again for the Duke of ALENCON. Whether Queen ELIZABETH had in reality chang'd her mind, and design'd now to alter her Condition ; or whether she acted in that manner out of Policy, is uncertain : but she seem'd to proceed in it in a fashion, that all *Europe* believ'd the Marriage would be soon concluded. Ambassadors of too high a Rank to be trifled with, were appointed on both sides, to treat about it. The Duke of ALENCON came himself into *England*, and was receiv'd by the Queen with Marks of more than common Kindness. She admitted him into her Dressing-Room when she was in her *Dishabillee*, a Favour which the Queens of *England* grant not even to their Husbands ; her Ladies of Honour taking an Oath, when first they enter on that Post, never to let any one into that Room, without the Queen's particular Order for it. — It was that which cost the Earl of *Effex* his Life ; flattering himself that the Queen was in love with him, he boldly visited her in that manner ;

ner; which giving her warning what his thoughts were, she for the future behaved in a fashion which let him see, that if she had a more than ordinary kindness for him, her Love was yet infinitely inferior to her Ambition.

BUT to return to the Duke of ALENCON: Queen ELIZABETH, whose Policy seldom fail'd her, took this Step of admitting the Duke into her Closet, only to draw her own advantage from it. It was her business to persuade him she acted more upon the square with him, than she had done with his Brother on the same Subject, that she might the more easily prevail on him to engage himself in the Affairs of the *Netherlands*.— Having gain'd him, she acquainted CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, who had great Power during the Reigns of all her three Sons, that she cou'd not marry the Duke of ALENCON, whilst he was a Prince without any Principality or Estate, but an Appennage liable to be taken away at any time: but that if the King his Brother would allow him a sufficient Number of Troops to make himself Master of the *Low Countries*, which had been offer'd to her, she knew of nothing which cou'd impede the Marriage. By this

Stroke, MARY was entirely in her power; for hereby *France* was under an obligation not to assist her in contradiction to *England*; and *Spain*, engaged in a War with the *Netherlands*, render'd unable. CATHERINE DE MEDICIS coming into this Agreement, Articles of Marriage were immediately drawn between Queen ELIZABETH and the Duke; and the *Low Countries*, which were to be subdued by the *French*, was the Marriage-Settlement.—If Queen ELIZABETH had a double View in this, so likewise had the equally Politick Dowager of *France*.—In the first place, she rejoiced in an Opportunity of getting rid of the Duke of ALENCON, who had lately very much embroil'd the Kingdom, by the help of the *Hugonots*, to whom he went over, and from whom they could not get him back, till such time as he had made Articles of Agreement for them; then, as he was to have an Army of *Frenchmen*, she shou'd thereby purge the Nation of a great number of Vagabonds, who being used to lead most dissolute Lives, it was necessary to send to the Wars. The Enterprize therefore was undertaken, and met with the desired Success, as all Historians agree.

IN the mean time, the Queen of Scots felt the Effects of all these politick Strokes, which were to her as so many Steps to the Scaffold.—Altho' there were chosen for her Jailors the worst-natur'd People that could be pick'd out; yet the Sweetness and Charms of this unfortunate Princess so changed their Dispositions, that Queen ELIZABETH began to suspect them, because they seem'd to commiserate her Condition; inso-much that having often changed both her Keepers and Place of Custody, she at last order'd her to be remov'd to *Fotheringham*, which ought rather to have been call'd a Dungeon than a Castle.

SHE was committed to the Custody of one PAWLET, and no Man ever made his court better to Queen ELIZABETH, because none had ever treated his Royal Prisoner with more rigour; he deprived her of all her Officers in general, not even her Almoner was excepted, and turn'd a great many of her Domesticks away, obliging her to be serv'd in every thing only as he pleas'd; and had a thousand Stratagems been form'd for her Escape, it would have been impossible for

any of them to have taken effect, while thus diligently guarded.

BUT it will not now be amiss to say something of BOTHWELL, and what became of him : After he left *Scotland*, he immediately withdrew himself into the *Orkneys*, where he was for some time a *Pirate*; but being at last overcome, he might easily have been taken, if MURRAY and MORTON, fearful of his discovering the whole Secret of their Treason, had not let him escape into *Denmark*, where leading a miserable Life for some time, he was at last known by some *Scottish* Merchants, who accused him to the King : that Monarch order'd him to be seiz'd ; but not knowing what to do with him, or whether he was really BOTHWELL or not, he languish'd in Prison for many Months, and at last died, not without Suspicion of Poison. — Before his Death, he confess'd not only who he was, but also all that had pass'd concerning the Murder of HENRY, protesting that the Queen was neither directly nor indirectly concern'd in it. — This Confession being made before several Persons of Distinction, it was set down, and the King of *Denmark* had the generosity to send it to all the Courts of *Europe*. —

Such

Such a Testimony, one would think, should have been sufficient to have silenced all the Aspersions cast on her by BUCHANAN, and the rest of her Enemies; but nothing is of force to convince those, who are resolv'd not to believe.

THE Queen of *Scots* soon discover'd the Treaty made between *France* and *England*, and saw the Ruin of her last remaining Hope; the Ambassadors from *France* and *Spain*, who had both industriously labour'd, tho' in vain, for her Relief, were now dismiss'd: Queen ELIZABETH caus'd Monsieur MAUSSIVIERE to be recall'd by his Master; but the other she order'd to depart herself, as being concern'd in Designs which Queen MARY had been forming against *England*. Her Allowance from *France* was also now so carelessly paid, and such Retrenchments in it made, that she had scarce wherewithal to subsist.——She writ many mournful Letters to LOVISA Wife of King HENRY; but the Malice of her Enemies render'd them unsuccessful.

THE Duke of ALENCON was all this while in the *Low Countries*, and had been declared Duke of BRABANT; this Beginning

ning of Sovereignty gave him Courage to remind Queen ELIZABETH of her Promise, which he continually did by every Courier, and receiv'd Answers from her, the most obliging that cou'd be.——He doubted not but to see himself King of *England* at his Return, and rejoiced to hear, that Queen MARY's Party grew every day weaker than other in *Scotland*, flattering himself also with an Opinion of wearing that Crown in conjunction with the other.——But how terrible a Disappointment did his high-raisd Expectations meet with, when Queen ELIZABETH, having no more to fear from *France*, began to grow so cold in the matter, that without being a very great Politician, he easily perceiv'd he had been but deluded with a fictitious Hope; which, together with some ill Success he afterward met with in the *Netherlands*, stuck so much to his Heart, that it threw him into a Disease, of which in a few days he died, and saved ELIZABETH the trouble of making either Denials or Evasions of what 'tis scarce probable she had ever any real Design of performing.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Precautions of this Politick Princess, there was still something going forward
gain for

for the Delivery of the *Scotish Queen*. But alas! so many steps as were made in her favour, serv'd only to bring on her Destruction. THROGMORTON, who had been employ'd by Queen ELIZABETH in the Affairs of *Scotland*, while MARY was on the Throne, knew very well how unjustly she had been dealt with, and cou'd not remember without the most sensible Remorse, that he had been one of the Instruments made use of to destroy her; — he having been the most zealous of any in persuading her to seek an *Asylum* in *England*: — To compensate for which Crime, he thought of nothing but delivering her from the Miseries to which he had contributed to reduce her. He made a Voyage to *France*, where meeting with MORGAN, the Agent of that unhappy Queen, they consulted together to unite the *Pope* and the King of *Spain* in a League to dethrone Queen ELIZABETH, and re-establish the Queen of *Scots*. — To encourage as much as possible her now drooping Party, he caus'd Rumours of this Affair to be spread abroad, and not thinking it safe to write directly to her, he sent her some Emblems, which he thought might comfort her in her Captivity, by giving her hope it wou'd soon be at an end. Among others,

thers, there was an ARGUS laid asleep by
a MERCURY playing on a Bagpipe, and
at the Bottom was this Verse or Motto :

*With this melodious Noise he closes all
his Eyes.*

A MERCURY cutting off an ARGUS's
Head watching a Treasure, with this In-
scription :

What cannot Wit effect !

A Stalk stuck in the Trunk of a Tree,
and chain'd with several Chains all
round, with this Verse :

I can make my way out thro' many Fetters.

A Palm bent, and shooting forth a fresh
Stalk, with these Words :

*A great Courage rises against Difficul-
ties.*

They likewise found out an *Anagram*, in

Maria Steuarda, Veritas Armata.

THESE things coming to Queen E-
LIZABETH's knowledge, very much per-
plex'd

plex'd her, and the more because she had it not in her power to discover the Authors.——She did not in the least doubt, but that all the *Roman Catholicks* in the Kingdom were her Enemies; but the great Number of them rendred it impossible for her to punish them any other-wise than by Taxations.——In this Dilemma her inventive Wit furnish'd her with a Stratagem, which promis'd her Success, in finding out whatever was transacting against her at *Rome*, and by consequence at other Parts, since that City, like the Head, was by all the other Members first consulted. With many Promises of Favour and Advancement, she won a *Scotch* Gentleman to go to the *Pope*, and to pretend that he was natural Brother to King HENRY, and that being a strict Adherer to the Church of *Rome*, search was made for him every where, in order to put him to death; for which reason, he came to throw himself under the Protection of his Holiness, and at the same time, make an Offer of a great number of Friends, which he shou'd say he had both in *England* and *Scotland*, to set Queen MARY at liberty, and dethrone Queen ELIZABETH. The Man obey'd her Instructions punctually; but some Letters from *England* detecting him to be

be an Imposture, the whole Deccit was discover'd, and the unhappy Tool of jealous Policy condemn'd to the Inquisition. In the mean time, THROGMORTON, who was come into *England*, was, on some light Suspicions, taken up; but 'tis believ'd wou'd soon have been discharg'd, had not a Circumstance happen'd immediately on his Confinement, which made the Queen and Council more wary, if possible, than ever they had been before. Notwithstanding the *Jesuits* had been forbid, on pain of Death, coming into *England*, great Numbers of them were scatter'd up and down the Countries, having come by the way of *Scotland*, where it was easy enough for them to land. It happen'd, that one of them being in a *French* Vessel, embark'd for *Rotterdam*, was taken by an *English* Privateer: fearing his Business and Profession shou'd be known, he tore his Papers, and threw them into the Sea; but whether it ought to be ascribed to Chance, or the peculiar work of Providence, has caus'd some Dispute among the Authors, who have written on those Times; but it is most certain, that the Wind driving back the scatter'd Pieces just as the Privateer boarded the Ship, they were found on Deck, and being dexte-

dexterously put together, plainly discover'd there was a Design on foot against *England*.——This coming immediately to the ears of the Council, the Suspicions they had of THROGMORTON now pass'd for certain Proofs: he was presently committed to the *Tower*, where the fear of what might be inflicted on him, kept him from preventing it; he confess'd even more than was requir'd, and soon after suffer'd the Death of a Traitor.

BUT tho' by these Measures Queen ELIZABETH lessen'd the Number of her Enemies, she cou'd not diminish her Fears—ten thousand corroding Thoughts both day and night perplex'd her, and render'd her, if possible, more anxious, more uneasy than her Prisoner.——One while she took up a resolution to sacrifice her to her Tranquillity, and imagin'd that her Death would give her perfect ease.——Another time she fancy'd she saw all the Christian Princes arm'd for the Revenge of that unhappy Princess, and vowing Desolation and Destruction to the Country which had prov'd so cruelly inhospitable.——Never was Woman in a greater Dilemma than this self-divided Queen; and while all *Europe* envy'd her seem-

ing

ing Happiness, had the true State of her Soul been made known, the meanest Subject she reign'd over would not have changed Conditions. She grew so visibly discontented, that all the Court took notice of it; but the Earl of LEICESTER only being able to guess at the Occasion, resolv'd in his own Mind to ease her of it, by sending the *Scotish* Queen out of the world; and to that purpose set out for *Fotheringham*: but a Remorse seizing him on the Road, and the shocking Thought of murdering the most lovely Woman in the world, and of the Infamy it wou'd draw on him hereafter, made him alter his Design, and turn back again. — He own'd this Weakness (if it cou'd be call'd so) to Queen ELIZABETH, and plainly shew'd her, by his want of power to do such an Action, the Enormity of it. — Now did this perplex'd Sovereign think herself indeed unhappy, since the Man whom she had rais'd from nothing, and cou'd, when she pleas'd, reduce to the same State again, chose rather to forfeit all his Honours, than be guilty of so terrible a Crime. But she had already gone too far, to go back. — Some say she sent Orders to PAWLET to make away with her; but that the same Night, as she was asleep,

asleep, one of her Ladies who lay in the same Chamber with her shriek'd out violently, which awakening the Queen, she ask'd what was the matter, and she answered, that she had dream'd that a Hangman having beheaded Queen MARY, was also about to behead her too. — ELIZABETH cries out immediately that she had dream'd the same thing, and early in the Morning sends to recall the Courier, who was already half way his Journey to *Fotheringham*.

THE Duke of ALENCON'S Death had certainly made great Alterations in the Behaviour of the *French* towards Queen ELIZABETH, now finding that she aided the *Hugonots* both with Money and Advice; but if by doing so, she gave cause of Offence to HENRY III. yet by that means she put it out of his power to revenge either his own, or Sister-in-law's Injuries. — His Kingdom was divided between two Factions, the *Guises* on the one side, and the *Hugonots* on the other, so that he had enough to do to keep Peace at home, without entring into a Foreign War.

BUT it was quite otherwise with *Spain*, the *Netherlanders* having been

overcome in two or three Battles, and the Prince of *Orange* about that time assassinated, made them lose ground every day.

— Queen *ELIZABETH* therefore finding herself unable to curb King *PHILIP*, was obliged to sooth him ; — she gave him to understand by her Ambassador, that he should not only have Satisfaction for all the Damage he had sustained, but that also being resolv'd to alter her Condition, she would have a Husband of his recommending : — Whether that Prince believ'd her or not, is to be questioned ; but the Artifice however made him for a while lay aside all Thoughts of Hostility.

WHEN she found herself out of danger from those two powerful Monarchs who held the Balance of all *Europe*, she then went to work with the King of *Scotland*, Queen *MARY*'s Son, whom we shall hereafter call by the Name of *JAMES* the Sixth. To the same purpose we hinted before, how she had rais'd a Misunderstanding between them, that so their Union might not prejudice her : But now she did a great deal more, she alarmed him so often, by telling him that she would restore his Mother to the Crown, that he was brought
to

to that pass, that he could freely forgive her any thing, sooner than the restoring his Mother; and those Bonds which naturally link Mother and Child together, had been represented to him in such disadvantageous Colours, that filial Affection was too weak to resist the desire of Reigning; which a great Man among the Antients said, was sufficient to make any Crime lawful. JAMES the Sixth now only thought how to maintain Amity with Queen ELIZABETH, that so he might secure himself upon the Throne; and if he made any Steps in his Mother's favour, it was from the same Motives which that Princess had for not putting of her to death.

SHE no sooner saw that all things were come to the wish'd-for point, but she would not lose time to finish the last Scene of the Tragedy. The Theatre was got ready, and the Spectators seem'd to look on whatever was to be acted without the least Concern. — Now there was nothing to do, but to have some Colour for this Proceeding, whereby to satisfy all the Princes who were so nearly allied to her, in telling 'em that it was at the earnest Intreaties of her Subjects that she had proceeded in such a manner against

her. That she might go on in order, she talked of setting MARY at liberty, and had Proposals made to her upon that account; but they were such as she was certain the other would not agree to. While all the World therefore, except herself, thought that MARY would soon be set at liberty, and that *France* and *Spain* were over-joy'd at it; all on a sudden, she pretended she had discovered a Conspiracy, which broke off the Treaty. As she knew that altho' the Jesuits were prohibited coming into *England*, and those that should give them Entertainment, were deem'd guilty of High-Treason; yet that great Numbers came: she would have that Order renewed by an Act of Parliament, adding thereto some severer Clauses. There was one PARRY, a Doctor of the Civil Law, who very strenuously oppos'd the Bill, whether he was a *Papist*, or whether he was concerned in the Conspiracy against the Queen, is uncertain; but this was sufficient to have him secured immediately: He was questioned, and put to the Rack, where, a certain Historian writes, that he acknowledged, that he had engaged himself with the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Venice*, where he had lately been, to assassinate Queen ELIZABETH;

ZABETH ; having met with some Popish Casuists, who told him he might lawfully do it, altho' he met with others who maintain'd the contrary. But be that as it will, he was at last executed. Upon this, MARY was confin'd closer than ever, and all her Papers seiz'd upon, and she herself reduced to such a State, as Death itself had been more merciful for her.

AS it was Queen *Elizabeth's* Intention to have her condemn'd in Form, she was so much afraid of missing her Aim, as she had done before when that Queen's own Subjects accused her at *York*, that she thought it not sufficient to appoint Judges to her own liking, and to have bribed her Secretary to accuse her of what Crimes she thought fit : but she had also Laws enacted on purpose to make her Guilty, when she could never be so, or at least could never be condemn'd. One was, That all those who were found guilty of High-Treason, let them be of what Degree and Quality soever, should be subject to the same Punishment as a private Person ; and in case those who should be found guilty, were Heirs to the Crown of *England*, they should forfeit that, and likewise their Posterity should be deprived of it ; insomuch, that bating MARY's Name

was not mentioned in it, one might easily know it was made on purpose for her. And indeed it could be no other ways, for it was not needful to make a new Law to convict those *English* Noblemen who had some pretence to the Succession, if they were found guilty, since several had suffered upon very slight Proofs.

THUS was every thing prepared for MARY'S Condemnation; all those whom they apprehended before her, patiently underwent their Punishment: As for the Judges, Queen ELIZABETH had no distrust of them, since what had happened to those who declared her innocent, made her very certain that no-body would take that Charge upon them, but who would go through stich with it. Now there only wanted some Pretence for this Proceeding, but this could not long be wanting, since she had the Secretary of that unhappy Princess at her command. He had been brought over by Money, and till then served them who paid him, by letting them into his Mistress's most secret Designs, which had rendered all those Projects for her Delivery hitherto ineffectual. But as it is a hard matter to draw back when one is

entered into an evil Course, and hung off one's Duty, NAWE, for that was the Name of this false Agent, promised Queen ELIZABETH to give her Informations enough to take off MARY; which he did effectually in the following manner.

AS the Laws in *England* against Papists were more rigorously put in execution than ever, they were continually plotting to ease themselves, and to set the *Scottish* Queen at liberty, which were two things inseparable one from the other. These Designs were very often carried on with more *Zeal* than *Prudence*, and the ill Success they always met with, plainly shewed they were not well managed.

SOME certain Persons, who had nothing to lose, were the first who made Proposals to the *Pope*, who afterwards communicated it to other Christian Princes; and in the mean while those People that were the Go-betweens, liv'd upon what they received from one and the other, and MARY thus spent the best part of her Allowance. For some time she would not hearken to any more of them, for fear of disobliging Queen

ELIZABETH, who often made her believe she wou'd treat with her in good earnest; but when she found that she dealt with her according to custom, she betook herself to her former Practices; and finding she shou'd never gain her Liberty, but by these means, she adhered to them more than ever. She had wrote to the *Pope*, that all the Christian Princes had forsaken her, and that if he did not succour her by some means or other, she must give over all Thoughts of obtaining her Freedom. But tho' the *Pope* did not want Good-will in this Cause, yet was it out of his power to help her any way, but by furnishing them with Money, which he promis'd to do, as soon as he found it cou'd be laid out to some purpose. Upon this, MORGAN, who was MARY's Agent in *France*, did all that lay in his power to put another Plot on foot, thinking all the others had miscarried only for want of Money. A great Number of People went to *Rome*, and offer'd to do a surprizing stroke in *England*, which would have alter'd the face of Affairs there; but they would not hearken to them, whether it was because they would not consent to a Fact, which was so odious, or whether they would not trust to the Sincerity of these *Papists*,
who

who all made the same Demand, which was Money. ELIZABETH, who had very good Intelligence, immediately was acquainted with every thing, that was hatching against her; insomuch, that all these Conspiracies came to nothing, but serv'd to make her more resolv'd on the Death of that unhappy Queen.

THERE was at *Rheims* in *Champaign* a *Seminary* of *English* Priests, who were brought up on purpose to be sent as Missionaries into *England*. As this sort of Employment was very dangerous, and that all the Gallows were fill'd with nothing but Priests, they expected little else as soon as they had set footing in the Kingdom. This Contempt of Life inspiring them with such Thoughts as never enter'd into Mens Minds, who had not Martyrdom in view, they often talk'd of delivering *England* from a Prince, who thirsted so much after their Blood. Among others, BALLARD made a Voyage thither, he found all the Priests dispos'd to undertake any thing for a Cause, which they esteem'd so meritorious: he went over into *France* to push things forwarder; but having met by the way one MAUD, WALSINGHAM's Spy, a notable crafty Dissembler, he deceiv'd
the

the unwary Priest so far, that he discover'd to him some part of the Design, thinking he had been a *Papist*. By which means, Queen ELIZABETH was immediately acquainted with the whole Affair; and courageously waited for the Event, In the mean time, BALLARD continued his Voyage, and arrived at *Paris*, where he conferr'd with Don BERNARDINE DE MENDOZA, at that time the *Spanish* Ambassador at the Court of *France*, who having liv'd a great while in *England*, was perfectly acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, and with the Methods to be us'd for the restoring the *Popish* Religion, and setting the Queen of *Scots* at liberty.

ELIZABETH herself, when he was in *England*, thinking that he was concern'd in a Conspiracy against her, had sent him away in a very abrupt manner, which had like to have caus'd a Rupture between the two Kingdoms. BALLARD proposes to him the same thing, that had been so often propos'd before, which was, the landing some Troops from *Flanders* in *England*. He told him, that things had never been so well dispos'd before, that the Forces the King of *Spain* had in the *Low Countries* might very well be spared,

spared, and that in *England* the People were so weary of Queen ELIZABETH, that not only the *Papists*, but others also, would take up Arms on the first occasion. MENDOZA answer'd to all this, that it would be impossible to undertake any thing in that Kingdom, while Queen ELIZABETH was alive; because such things cou'd not be carried on so secretly, but that she wou'd find them out, and afterwards overthrow them. What MENDOZA meant by this Answer is uncertain, whether he only spake what he thought, or whether he did it to inspire him with some higher Design: He however came back to *England*, with a full Resolution to perform what he thought MENDOZA hinted at. He disguis'd himself like a *Cavalier*, and went by the Name of Captain FOSCU.

BEING come to *London*, he broke the Business to one BABINGTON, a young Man very much addicted to the *Romish* Religion, and who had been lately in *France*, and was acquainted with MORGAN, the Queen of *Scots* Agent, and with the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, her Ambassador there. These two always extolling the Heroick Virtues of so great a Queen, and he being a young Gentleman

Gentleman of good Birth, rich, ripe-witted, and learned, above most of his Years; they were continually buzzing in his ears, that he being every way so very well accomplish'd, there was nothing but what he might very reasonably expect from MARY, if once she became Queen of *England*, since she always rewarded Persons of so singular a Merit. Swell'd with these Hopes, he comes into *England* with Letters of Recommendation to MARY, who receiv'd him very graciously, and afterwards employ'd him to convey all the Letters she receiv'd from any one to her, until such Time as she was committed to PAWLET's keeping, who watch'd her so narrowly, that it was impossible for him to do it any longer. BALLARD having got acquainted with him, talk'd to him about their Designs upon *England*; but he made the same Answer as MENDOZA had done before: to which BALLARD answer'd again, that Queen ELIZABETH would not live long, inasmuch as one SAVAGE was come into *England* on purpose to kill her, the first fair Opportunity that offer'd, let what would be the Consequence. BABINGTON was of opinion, that such an Enterprize should not be in one Man's hands only; but that there ought to be six concern'd

cern'd in it at least. So that he order'd every thing a-new, to carry on the Design, and wrote to MENDOZA how the Troops should land, and seize upon the strong Places.

WHILE this was doing, he receiv'd Letters from MARY, wherein she gently blamed him for being so long silent, and withal, desired him to write to her as soon as possible, and to send his Letters to the *French* Ambassador, who would convey them to her. He answer'd, the Impossibility of getting Letters to her was the Reason she had not heard from him before; but that she should shortly be meas'd of that Trouble, and of all others, for that there were six stout young Men resolv'd to rid her of her Enemy. This Letter, as all the others had done before, fell into NAWÉ's hands, who had been bribed, as we said before. He did not shew it to MARY, knowing that altho' she would gladly have been set at liberty, yet that she would never consent to it upon any such Terms: But having sent it to Queen ELIZABETH, he answer'd in the other's Name, tho' without her order, that she very much applauded their Zeal for the advancing the *Popish* Cause, but she desired them above all things to be

be very secret in it, and to mistrust all the world: she likewise gave them some particular Directions how to manage the Affair; and concluded, that there was nothing in the world but what she would do, to repay the Obligations she should lie under to those who should set her at liberty.

BABINGTON already looks upon himself as a very considerable Person, and as one that was about to do a thing that would astonish all *Europe*. He made no doubt but that he had all this while been treating with **MARY**, and that she approved the Design, and now thought of nothing but how to put it in execution. To this end he associates himself with some young *Roman Catholic* Gentlemen; the chief of whom were **EDWARD WINDSOR**, **THOMAS SALISBURY**, **CHARLES TIDNEY**, (one of **Queen ELIZABETH'S** Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners) **CHIDCOCK**, **TITCHBURNE**, **EDWARD ABINGTON**, **ROBERT GAGE**, **JOHN TRAVERS**, **JOHN CHARNOCK**, **JOHN JONES**, **SAVAGE**, (whom we have already mention'd;) **BARN WIELL**, of a Noble Family in *Ireland*; **HENRY DUN**, and one **POLLY** insinuated himself a-

mong them, as 'tis believ'd, only to discover the Design to WALSINGHAM.

TO these Men BABINGTON broke the Design, but not all Parts of it to every one of them; he only discover'd the Whole to TITCHBURN, TILNEY, BARNWELL, and CHARNOCK, SAVAGE and BALLARD, who had promis'd him to kill Queen ELIZABETH; the first four of them could hardly be persuaded to imbrue their Hands in their Queen's Blood. As for SALISBURY, to whom BABINGTON had mention'd the Murder, he frankly own'd that he would run any hazard to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, but would never consent to murder Queen ELIZABETH. Finding that he could do no good with him, he only desired him to keep the Secret; which all of them had sworn to do, before he acquainted them with it. They met ever and anon to confer together about these Matters, sometimes in *St. Giles's in the Fields*, and sometimes in *St. Paul's Church*, or in Taverns where they daily banquetted and feasted; being puff'd up with the hopes of becoming rich by the Design they were going to undertake. Now and then they commend'd the Valour of those *Scottish* Gentlemen

men who had lately rescued King JAMES the Sixth from the Earl of GOURY, and talk'd of him who had slain the Prince of ORANGE as of a *Hero*. They had likewise their own Pictures drawn after the Life, with this Verse at bottom:

These are my Companions, whom very Danger draws.

But this appearing too plain not to be understood, they put this Verse a little below the other:

Nobody knows what we intend.

Several of their Pictures were shewn to Queen ELIZABETH, but she knew but one of them: But as she was always well guarded, this did not trouble her in the least; being likewise well satisfy'd that she could overthrow their Design whenever she pleas'd.

NOTHING now more perplex'd BABINGTON, than lest the promis'd Aid should not come before they put their Design in execution: therefore he was resolv'd to go over to *Flanders* himself, to acquaint the Duke of PARMA that all things were now ready for executing their

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Design, and that there was now nothing to be done, but to find out a way to send the Troops into *England*, and that then the first Act of the Tragedy should begin. He had already sent privately BALLARD into *France* upon the same account, and had got leave of WALSINGHAM to go over himself, pretending that he could be of service to Queen ELIZABETH, in discovering what was hatching against her in those Parts. WALSINGHAM readily gave him leave, forasmuch as Queen ELIZABETH had order'd him so to do: that ever-politick Princess knowing BABINGTON's Aim in going, was resolv'd to let them run a full length, that thereby she might have a plausible Pretence for taking off the Queen of *Scots*. But something or other intervening in the mean time, hindered his setting out; and Queen ELIZABETH, who saw the Storm hanging over her Head, stopt it there.

BABINGTON had wrote several Letters, besides those we mention'd already, to MARY: As they took no manner of notice of the Conspiracy against Queen ELIZABETH's Life, but only of the Design several People had laid for her Delivery, NAWE had shew'd her them, and she had made suitable Answers to
 Q them,

them, declaring, that she should be very much obliged to those who should set her at liberty, after her so long Imprisonment. She likewise put them in the way how to accomplish it, which was either to overturn a Load of Hay at the Castle-Gate where she was Prisoner, or to surprize her as she should walk abroad at those times allow'd her.

BUT to continue this Correspondence, it was necessary to have one whom they could trust near the Place where she was kept Prisoner, that he might keep all those Letters which came from the Conspirators, until such time as he could have a fit Opportunity to deliver them into the Queen's hands. Neither the Countess of ARUNDEL, nor Baron LUMLEY, nor HENRY HOWARD, would meddle in it, altho' they were *Papists*, as being too dangerous an Exploit: at length one GIFFARD a Priest offer'd to undertake it. Going therefore to live in those Parts, BABINGTON, that he might try his Fidelity, sent first of all a Packet of Blank Papers, seal'd up like Letters; and hearing that he had deliver'd it, he did not scruple to write often to MARY indifferently concerning the whole Conspiracy.

spiracy. But both one and the other were out in their reckoning.

SELDOM do any undertake such dangerous Enterprizes, without some Cause as great; and those who do engage in them, except it be upon some extraordinary Occasion and Motive, either do not act upon sincere Grounds, or do not go on in their Designs. Thus, altho' the Interest of Religion, and Honour, are sometimes powerful enough in some People to make them undertake great Exploits, yet this very seldom happens; and they often cloak under a specious Name, the Reasons they are ashamed to own. GIFFARD, who had undertaken to serve the Conspirators in this Affair, under the pretence that it was for the sake of Religion, shew'd, by the Sequel, that it was only to get Money out of those who design'd to set the Queen at liberty, as others had done before him. And considering that he had engaged in a very dangerous Enterprize, he was so base as to think that he should gain more by discovering all the whole Secret to Queen ELIZABETH'S Ministry; he immediately gave notice to WALSINGHAM, and gave him the reasons of his living in those Parts. WALSINGHAM, who was

a most inveterate Enemy to that Prince, and who on the other side wanted to make his Court to Queen ELIZABETH, ordered him to go on, and to send him all the Letters that came to her, and those she sent. GIFFARD accordingly did it; for the Queen, and the Conspirators finding it so easy to correspond together, often wrote to one another: WALSINGHAM also wrote to PAWLET, to let GIFFARD bribe one of MARY's Domesticks; which being accordingly done, they made a hole in the Wall of the Castle, wherein all the Letters were put, and from whence they fetch'd them. NAVE, as we said before, only gave the Queen of Scots those Letters, which spoke of her being set at liberty: as for the others, he answered them himself in her Name, and counterfeited her Seal. All these Letters, and several others which she wrote to MENDOZA, and to the Archbishop of GLASGOW her Ambassador in *France*, were opened and copied, and then sealed up again and sent as directed.

WALSINGHAM, who traced this Affair so far alone, without acquainting any other of the Council with it, would have gone on farther in it, and

and designed to have staid some time longer before he discovered it, in hopes to have seized all the rest who were to come into *England*; but Queen ELIZABETH finding by their Letters that their Design was almost ripe for Execution, and that her Life was struck at, was not for deferring it any longer. WALSINGHAM hereupon, who had hired one to watch BABINGTON more closely, under the Cloak of Friendship, wrote him a Letter to seize BABINGTON, and to carry him to Prison. This Letter being delivered to him as he was at Dinner with BABINGTON, who sat next to him, he read it at the same time; and now finding the Plot was discovered, made him think that he must now take care of himself: he continued as chearful as before, knowing that if he seem'd otherways, he was a lost Man. When Night came on, he went out of the Room without his Hat or Cloak, as if he had gone for some private Occasion; making all the haste he could to *Westminster*, where having met with CHARNOCK, they retired to *St. John's Wood*, where BARNWELL and DUN, whom they had given notice of the Danger, came to them presently. There was immediately a Proclamation issued out for the apprehending them,

and forbidding any one to harbour or conceal them upon pain of Death. Not knowing what Course to take, the *French* Ambassador and TITCHBURN having refused letting them have Horses or Money, as they desired, and being constrained thro' Hunger to come out of their lurking Places in the Wood; and having cut off their Hair, and disguis'd and sully'd their Faces with the Kinds of Walnuts; they got to a Papist's House, where they were hid in a Garret: but there being a great number of People in search for them, in ten days they were all taken and brought Prisoners to *London*, and shortly after suffered the Death of Traitors.

ALTHO' this had made a great noise all over the Kingdom, and that it was in every body's mouth; yet the Queen of *Scots* was so strictly watch'd, and every one that came to her, that she never heard any thing of it, nor that the Design was discovered, till one day when she had been out to take the Air, they did not carry her back to the Castle, but led her about from one Nobleman's House to another, under the shew of Civility. She was very much surprized when she came back to the Castle, to find her Cabinet
broke

broke open, and all her Papers ranfack'd, and her Money gone. Afterwards they came and acquainted her with an Order of the Council, whereby they appointed Judges to try her. NAVE and CURL her Secretaries were brought Face to Face, they positively affirmed that she actually sign'd all those Letters which they wrote; but she so clearly confuted them of the Imposture, that if her Judges had not been her Executioners, they must have declared her Innocence; and for a further Mark of the Wickedness of these Secretaries, as a certain Historian of undoubted Credit says, that when one of them reminded WALSINGHAM of having done this piece of Service, he answered him, that he deserved nothing, since he was not able to maintain any one of his Accusations to the Queen's face. Nevertheless the Judges did not know how to proceed against her, since it was plain that she was no ways concerned in the Conspiracy, and that it was only a malicious Aspersiō cast upon her. Some were of opinion the best way would be to poison her, others thought it would be sufficient to let her suffer a closer Imprisonment; but those who knew more of QUEEN ELIZABETH'S Mind, said she was guilty of High-Trea-
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son, by a Law lately made, which we mentioned before. So now they only thought how to make this great Piece of Injustice look lawful. The first time she appeared before the Commissioners, she told them, she was sorry her Sister should be so wrongly informed of her Designs, as to think she would ever have done any thing to her prejudice; that she was ignorant of what her Secretaries had wrote; but she defied them to produce any one of her own concerning the Conspiracy: that it was not only very hard for a Queen, but likewise for a private Person, to have so many Accusations against her, and not be allow'd a Lawyer to plead for her.

HER Answer being put down in Writing, they asked whether or no she wou'd submit to the Laws of *England*, since she had lived so long in the Kingdom. She answer'd, that coming into *England* for Sanctuary, she had been immediately sent to Prison, and deprived of all manner of Correspondence with any one, and that she was wholly ignorant of the Laws, and that her Quality dispens'd with her from acknowledging them. The Chancellor went to her afterwards, and told her she must submit to the Laws,

Laws, or they would proceed against her as a Mute. To which she again answer'd, that she would stand upon the Privilege of a Queen: she added, that that Law seem'd to her very unjust, since it was made on purpose for her Destruction. Why, *said she*, shou'd I submit to Laws which you make and unmake at your pleasure? since one of your Kings wou'd not acknowledge the *Salique* Law of *France*, which is as old as this Monarchy.

FALLING afterwards into many long Discourses, but not as owning their Jurisdiction; the Judges again ask'd her, whether she wou'd own Queen ELIZABETH'S Authority, in appointing Commissioners to try her? She answer'd, that her Ancestors had never done her so much wrong, as to oblige her to acknowledge the Crown of *Scotland* depended on the Crown of *England*; and concluded at last, that she would talk with them as long as they would, so they did not question her as a Criminal; adding, that she would sooner suffer Death, than acknowledge any Tribunal in the world to be try'd before. The Chancellor upon this examin'd her upon a great many Articles; and altho' he did all he cou'd to puzzle

puzzle her, yet it is wonderful how wisely and clearly she answer'd all his Quibbles. She plainly shew'd him the Contradictions in his own Objections he made against her; and all that he could say against her, only shew'd her Innocence the clearer. They examin'd her about her Correspondence with BABINGTON; but she plainly prov'd, that she had been betray'd by her Secretaries, and that she had never wrote those Letters objected against her; and that altho' BABINGTON had confess'd his holding Correspondence with her, when he suffer'd, it was only what he thought, he having been likewise deceiv'd. After these Proceedings had lasted several Days, they let her alone for some time.

HENRY the Third having notice what great danger she was in, sent an Ambassador to Queen ELIZABETH, to acquaint her, that she ought not to use a Relation and a Queen, as she was herself, and a Dowager of *France*, so inhumanly: But as his own Affairs were in such confusion, that he cou'd not back his Remonstrances by Force, ELIZABETH had no occasion to fear any thing from that Quarter; and a little while after, she sign'd the Warrant for her Death: which being
done,

done, on the seventh of *February* 1587. the Earl Marshal of *England* came to give her notice of it; and sending in word that he wanted to speak with her, she answer'd, that she could not speak with him then, because, not being well, she was not yet up; but that if it was any thing of moment, if he would have a little patience, she would rise presently. The *Marshal* sent word in again, that he must speak with her immediately: Whereupon, slipping on her Morning-Gown, she sat down on her Chair near the Bed-side. The *Marshal* being come into the Room, with PAWLET and some others with him, he told her before all her Maids of Honour, that Queen ELIZABETH, having found her guilty of the Crimes laid to her charge, had sentenc'd her to death. When he had done speaking, she said, crossing herself, *God be praised, who this day puts an end to all my Sorrows, which I have so long been surrounded with*; and then began to talk with the *English* as chearfully as if she had heard the best News in the world: She went over all the Heads of their Accusations against her, and clearly prov'd, that it was a malicious Aspersion, and that her Foes had prejudic'd her good Sister against her; and said, that she did not

not question but that (if she could have spoken to her once, which she had earnestly desired) all things might have been friendly made up; that nevertheless she forgave her her Death: adding moreover, (putting her Hand on a Bible that lay near her) that she call'd God to witness, that she never intended any hurt to Queen ELIZABETH, nor against *England*. The Marshal telling her, that her Oath was nothing, because that *Bible* was of the *Popish* Version; she answer'd, that was the greatest Reason he could have to believe her, since she own'd no other Version but that to be true. She afterwards desir'd she might have a Priest allow'd her; but they would not grant it: Then she desir'd them to leave her alone while the next day, when she was to suffer, as they had acquainted her: Then she went into her Oratory, where, after she had pray'd some time, she took a consecrated Wafer, which the *Pope* had allowed her to do, since she had been deny'd the Use of a Priest.

COMING into her Chamber again, she began to comfort her Maids and other Domesticks, who were drown'd in Tears; then two *Protestant* Ministers came in, to persuade her to renounce those

those Errors, which they said she had so long persisted in; but she desired them not to trouble her. Afterwards calling for Pen, Ink and Paper, she wrote a Letter to HENRY the Third, to acquaint him how that after twenty Years Imprisonment she had been sentenced to Death, and that they would not allow her a Priest, nor to have her Body to be carried into *France*, where she once had been Queen. She also wrote a long Letter to ELIZABETH, in which, without using any bitter Expressions, she justified herself of every thing laid to her Charge; she intreated her to let her Domesticks enjoy that little she had to dispose of. Having finish'd these Letters, she went into her Wardrobe, and divided all her Clothes among them, and gave to each of her Domesticks according as she thought they wanted. Then she call'd for her Jewels, and divided them among 'em; except a few, which she sent to the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, and to CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, and to the GUISES.

AFTER this, she order'd Supper to be serv'd up as usual; she eat temperately, and discours'd as chearfully as she was wont to do: towards the end of Supper, she drank to all her Servants, who pledg'd
her

her in order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with their Wine. The Men Servants afterwards going out, the Maids of Honour staid in the Room with her. She would have pass'd that Night in Prayers, but thinking it would make her more heavy the next Day, she went to bed. The fatal Morning now being come, the Sheriff went to demand her; she dress'd herself in the richest Apparel she had, as tho' it had been a Festival. BURGOIN her Physician asked her to take a glass of Wine and eat a little bit of Bread, which she did, and kneeling down, turned all her Thoughts towards Heaven: Presently after came the Sheriff again to demand her; she came out immediately, having an Ivory *Crucifix*, which lay upon an Altar in her Oratory, carried before her.

THEY would not at first allow her Ladies to attend her, lest their Womanish Lamentations might disturb her; but she assured them to the contrary, and desired it so earnestly, that at last they granted it: but for other Domesticks, they would not suffer one of them to be present; and as she was coming out of her Anti-chamber into the Hall where the Scaffold was erected, they were all lock'd in,

in, so that she was forced to take the Cross out of his hands that bore it, and carry it herself to the Place of Execution. Meeting by the way one she had not seen in three Weeks, she order'd him to acquaint the World, that she died stedfast in the *Romish* Religion, and to admonish her Son to embrace the same, and not to trust to the Hereticks. Having once again ask'd for some of her Domesticks to be present, it was at last granted, that four of her Men Servants shou'd be allow'd.

THE Scaffold was built in the middle of the Hall, it was twelve foot square, and six foot high, on which was placed a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block all covered with black Cloth. Having ascended the Scaffold, she sat down in the Chair, then was the Sentence again read aloud; after which, she began to pull off her upper Garments, and the Executioner coming to help, she said to him; *Friend, you need not*: and calling one of her Women to come, and do that last Office for her, she kneel'd down, and remain'd in that Posture for some time in Prayers, thinking that she should have been beheaded after the *French* manner, that is kneeling; but at last stretching her Neck upon

upon the Block, and beginning that Psalm, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*; her Head was taken off at the third Blow, the Earl MARSHAL crying out at the same time, *Long live Queen ELIZABETH, and thus let all her Enemies perish!*

THUS have you had an Account of the Life and Death of MARY STUART, a Queen certainly endow'd with many excellent Qualities, and who deserv'd a better Fate than dying by the Hands of the common Hangman. But God in her Person would give an Instance of the Inconstancy of all human Greatness. She was buried without any Pomp in a neighbouring Church, and her Servants put up an Epitaph for her; which was soon taken down, because it spoke so much in her praise, and set forth the Cruelty of those who put her to death.

FINIS.

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